'ABD ALLĀH NADĪM,

JOURNALIST, MAN OF LETTERS, ORATOR,

AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE FIRST EGYPTIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT.

(A LITERARY AND HISTORICAL STUDY).

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TYPIST ERRORS.

PAGE.	LINE.	CORRECTION.
32	19	immensely
54	7	belief in fate
69	1	'Alī Abū al-Naṣr
157	footnote (2)	10.1.1882
183	2	held
191	14	abandoned
199	12	hard
199	15	of the country
201	4	between Christians
242	footnote (1)	together £50,000
251	24	country: (2) (footnote (2) Ibid.)
276	22	loser" (3) (footnote (3) Al-Ṭā'if, 28.7.1882.)
296	23	Malhamah
322	1	the police
336	2	predecessors
336	5	to waste
351	10	whereabouts
382	14	had been abolished
390	10	al-Burhān
427	19	that the colloquial
432	13	December 13, 1892
450	5	treat Europeans
457	17	pretensions
461	2	part
462	19	instigating
477	1	1881-1882
516	12	Prime Minister the book called Tahni'ah.

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PREFACE.

The present work is, indirectly, the result of my strong lifelong desire to complete the rigidly traditional and orthodox education received at the ancient University of al-Azhar and then at the faculty of Dār al-'Ulūm by closer acquaintance with the main trends of contemporary Western culture. It is traditional in the old families of fellah origin in Egypt for one of the sons to be sent to al-Azhar in preparation for a religious career; fate decreed that in my family the choice should fall on me. While one of my brothers was reading Shakespeare, Byron and Shaw, and the other was preparing for the engineering profession, I sat behind a desk littered with commentaries on and glossaries and super-glossaries to medieval subjects, studying and memorising texts of which I understood but little. All the time I was possessed by the secret longing to gain entrance into that unknown world which was symbolised, to me, by the books my brothers used to talk to me about in our leisure hours. When, overjoyed at having been taught a few words of English at Dār al-'Ulūm, I asked my eldest brother how long it would take me to be able to read Byron, his favourite poet, his answer was: "Never". This was the moment in which I decided to learn English and even go to

England for further studies. Twelve years later, it was granted to me to fulfil my desire.

Another emotionally tinged episode which still vividly clings to my memory is connected with the figure of my grandfather, seated on a settee in his parlour and asking me to read out to him from Nadīm's Al-Ṭā'if and Al-Ustādh; the afternoons I spent as a child in my grandfather's company excited my curiosity and were at the root of my subsequent interest in the Egyptian national movement. When I grew older, I strove to become acquainted with the details of 'Urābī's revolution which was the first phase of Egyptian nationalism and I was fascinated by the colourful and interesting, though at times controversial figure of 'Abd Allāh Nadīm. The two volumes of Al-Ustādh which belonged to my grandfather are still in my possession, but, unfortunately, I did not treat the single copies of Al-Ṭa'if with the same piety, for most of them were destroyed, together with other old newspapers, by careless domestics.

The second factor to influence me in my choice of subject was that both Egyptian history and the history of Arabic literature exhibit a more or less strong bias in their treatment of Nadīm. Moreover, the beginnings of the national movement have, both in Egypt and in the West, been represented from different angles, but there has been no serious attempt to represent it from the nationalist point of view.

The third factor to influence me was that, after graduating from Dār al-'Ulūm in 1949, I chose journalism as my career, and became literary editor of al-Ahram, the oldest non-official newspaper in Egypt still in existence which goes back to the days of the national movement. The first serious attempt to produce an Egyptian newspaper by an Egyptian for Egyptians, Nadīm's attempt, naturally attracted my attention.

These are the factors which actuated me in my choice of the subject of my Ph.D.thesis. It has been my object to show 'Abd Allāh Nadīm as he really was and what he stood for, with all his merits and his weaknesses, against the background of the national movement whose literary and political viewpoint he represents, and as a pioneer of the Arabic literary Renaissance to which he contributed as a journalist, orator and song writer.

I should like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisor, Mr. D. Cowan, to whom I am greatly indebted for his kind guidance and encouragement in all the difficulties I have encountered in the course of the present work, and without whose help it would never have been completed. I also wish to express my sincere thanks to Prof. R.B. Serjeant for his kind help and interest in my work. I also thank Dr. Anna Irene Falk for reading my proof. But, first and foremost, I should have liked to thank my beloved Father who was looking

forward to the completion of the present work with such eagerness. Death has forestalled me, and implacable destiny has robbed me of this unique joy; instead, I have to thank his dear memory. I also thank my dear Mother for her kind understanding and patience and for giving me all the help in her power, and my brothers who, while I was doing my research in England, deputised for me after my Father's death in January 1959, carrying my part of the burden of family duties.

'ALĪ AL-ḤADĪDĪ

INTRODUCTION.

The Arabic literature of the Renaissance period has found, up to now, singularly little attention in the West; the same is true of the first Egyptian national movement. After 1882, 'Urābī's revolution was frequently described, in both Egypt and England, as a rebellion, and 'Abd Allāh Nadīm was neglected by the historians of Egypt as well as by the historians of Arabic literature. The present work is intended to be a presentation of them in their proper light.

The first chapter of the present thesis gives a picture of Nadīm's early days, as a schoolboy and civil servant, boon companion of the rich, itinerant man of letters and disciple of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī; it also describes his literary, social and political background. It deals with the general trend of the Arabic literature of that time with its preference for Badī' style, and shows the desolate plight and economic disaster of Egypt under Ismā'īl's rule and the foreign interference it brought about. It pays special attention to the social aspect of the situation with the glaring contrast between the masses of the population living in conditions of dire poverty, and the wealthy few, mostly of Turkish origin, who were the masters of the country.

The second chapter shows the metamorphosis of Nadīm from a self-centred, though intellectually active literary amateur into a passionate social, educational and literary reformer who attempts political propaganda not so much overtly as by implication. The ways and means he employs in pursuit of his reform such as the foundation of schools through the medium of benevolent societies, the foundation of Rhetoric Assemblies, platform speaking and the journalistic essay - especially in his periodical Al-Tankīt - are given prominence in this chapter which shows how Nadīm's activity was instrumental in awakening national consciousness and consolidating public opinion in preparation for the great events of the revolution.

The third chapter throws light on Nadīm's rôle as "the Orator of the National Party", the great propagandist of nationalism, a leader of the national movement second in rank only to 'Urābī, and the editor of Al-Ṭā'if the official organ of the National Assembly and the exponent of constitutional views. This chapter describes the zenith of the national movement and the simultaneous climax of Nadīm's political rôle and deals with the conflict between Egypt and Britain which culminates in the war of 1882 in which Nadīm takes part as the "Tyrtacus of the revolution", and ends with the British occupation of Egypt and Nadīm's subsequent disappearance from public life.

The fourth chapter is devoted exclusively to Nadīm's life as a political refugee, living in retreat in constant jeopardy, to his numerous hiding places and aliases, a life that extends over almost a decade. This chapter also illustrates the patriotism of the fellahin who keep faith with the national movement; it expounds the manifold benefits Nadīm derives from his unimpeded studies, and deals with scores of books written in this period. The chapter terminates with Nadīm's arrest and exile to Palestine in 1891, and his return to Egypt after the amnesty of 1892.

The fifth chapter is concerned with the second phase of the national movement as whose exponent Nadīm can be regarded; it includes Nadīm's second struggle for political independence, this time against the British occupation, and his attempts at a vindication of the first national movement in the eyes of the young generation. The organ of this struggle in all its aspects, social, political and literary, is his periodical Al-Ustādh. The growing awareness of the British occupation of the danger of Nadīm's spiritual leadership leads to the suspension of Al-Ustādh and the banishment of Nadīm who, after a short stay in Palestine, finds himself leading a life of idleness in Constantinople again in the company of Jamāl al-Dīn. The chapter ends with Nadīm's death in 1896.

While all the aspects of his literary production are presented chronologically in the preceding chapters, the sixth

chapter is devoted to the assessment of his literary personality against the background of the Arabic literary Renaissance. It deals with Nadīm as a pioneer of oration, of the folk song and modern journalism, and with his shortcomings as a poet.

No one is more aware than I of the defects of this thesis, but I should like to emphasise that research on Nadīm's writings was rendered especially difficult by the fragmentary nature of his literary heritage. The lack of reference forced me to interrupt my stay in England and travel to Egypt in order to supplement the meagre sources at my disposal by personal contacts and research in public and private Egyptian libraries. Even so, documentary evidence has been far from sufficient; this may be one of the reasons why my assessment of Nadīm's status as a poet differs from that of his contemporaries.

England was the obvious place to write this thesis.

1 - Owing to the close relationship between Britain and Egypt at that time;

2 - Owing to the broadminded English approach to research which made me expect tolerance for the viewpoint of an opponent such as Nadīm.

I must also add that I have dared to change the transliteration of the names of 'Urābī, 'Abd Allāh Nadīm, Al-Ustādh and Al-Ṭa'if in quotations from various English

texts to bring the spelling into line with the system of transcription employed throughout in this thesis.

Finally, the stress put on the general background and common factors seems to me fully justified by the fact that only after common features have been properly elucidated can individual elements be properly assessed.

CHAPTER I

NADĪM'S EARLY DAYS.

1845-1878.

Egyptian Nationalism is a relatively recent phenomenon which emerged in the nineteenth century. Before that Egypt had been ruled for many centuries by non-Egyptians either in the name of religion or in the frankly avowed interest of the conquerors. Only when, in the nineteenth century, the impenetrable wall which separated Egypt from the outside world was removed, modern education generated in the country an awareness of the fact that they were governed by oppressors of foreign blood. Under the impact of modern education, they began to draw comparisons between the deplorable state of their own country under foreign rulers, and the conditions of liberty in European countries which were governed by their own sons. They became conscious of their enslavement, and it was that consciousness that was at the root of the national

movement of Egypt among whose pioneers 'Abd Allāh Nadīm played such a prominent part. He planted the seeds of nationalism in the hearts of the masses by every means in his power; his literary talent, his eloquent tongue, his pen and his popular appeal, aided by his incomparable endurance and tenacity of purpose. He carried the banner of the revolution and formulated its main principle, Egypt for the Egyptians. Thus, whenever the national movement of Egypt is mentioned, the rôle played in it by Nadīm must by no means be ignored. In fact, it is impossible to over-estimate his importance. In any attempt to write a truthful and honest history of modern Egypt, the long forgotten 'Abd Allāh Nadīm will occupy a prominent place as a pioneer of Egyptian nationalism.

'Abd Allāh Nadīm was born in Alexandria, Egypt, on the 10th Dhū al-Ḥijjah of the year 1261 A.H.[1] (10th December, 1845), on the annual Muslim festival of 'Īd al-'Aḍḥā (Greater Bairam).

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(1) 'Abd Allāh Nadīm, Kān wa Yakūn (Cairo 1892) vol. 1, P.11; Aḥmad Samīr, Introduction to Sulāfat al-Nadīm (2d edition Cairo 1914), P.3; Aḥmad Taymūr, Tarājim 'A'yān al-Qarn al-Thālith 'Ashar wa 'Awā'il al-Rābi' 'Ashar (A.H.) (Cairo 1940), P.3; Charles C. Adams, Islam and Modernism in Egypt, (London 1933) P.221.

His father, Miṣbāḥ ibn Ibrāhīm, was born in 1819 in the village of Ṭībah in the province of Sharqiyyah[1] and, like all Egyptian peasants, he spent his childhood and early adolescence in helping his family to till the soil which was the property of the ruler, Muḥammad 'Alī.[2].

At that time, the young Egyptian born of fellah (peasant) stock had hardly any choice when his future occupation was decided upon. He either remained on the land owned by the Viceroy and received merely a small fraction of the fruits of his labour, barely enough to keep him and his family from starvation, or he was forced to go, under duress, to work on another landlord's grounds. Often he was driven away to do what literally amounted to unpaid forced labour at building roads, bridges or waterways. There was also a fourth possibility: he could be conscripted for the army, which was equivalent to a precarious future.

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(1) 'Abd Allāh Nadīm, Al-Ustādh,(Periodical, Cairo 1892) P.553.

(2) The Viceroy Muḥammad 'Alī claimed ownership of all the soil of Egypt on behalf of the Sultan in 1807; cf. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥīm Muṣṭafā, Tārīkh Miṣr al-Ḥadīth, (Cairo 1933) P.96; Jurjī Zaydān, Tarājim Mashāhīr al-Sharq fī al-Qarn al-Tāsi' 'Ashar vol. 1, (Cairo 1910) P. 23.

In 1831 Muḥammad 'Alī finished building a dockyard in Alexandria, and rounded up a total of 8,000 boys and young men from all over the country to work in it(1). Miṣbāḥ ibn Ibrāhīm was one of them, and was put to work in the carpentry section of the dockyard(2). Here his lot was much better than that of the average peasant, for he was lucky enough to work under the supervision of educated engineers who paid him regular wages, pitiably small though they were, and fixed a limit to his working hours.

A change came in February 1841 when, under the pressure exerted by the London Conference composed of Austria, England, Prussia and Russia, the Turkish Sultan issued a decree (Firman)(3) which excluded Muḥammad 'Alī from his position as ruler of Syria, giving him the rule of Egypt only, and limiting his army from more than 276,616 soldiers(4) to 18,000(5). This created surplus

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(1) 'Alī Mubārak, Al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīqiyyah (Cairo 1887) vol. vii, P.52.

(2) Taymūr, op.cit. P.3.

(3) February, 1841.

(4) The count was undertaken in 1839, cf. Muḥammad Mukhtār, Kitāb al-Tawfīqāt al-Ilhāmiyyah, (Cairo 1311 A.H. "1893") P.628.

(5) Cf. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, Secret History of the English occupation of Egypt, (London 1907) P.165; M.Muṣṭafā, op.cit., P.33.

manpower, especially as the Firman also ordered the closure of many factories whose sole aim it had been to supply the army with all it needed. In consequence many of the dockyard workers lost their employment. Among them was Miṣbāḥ. However, he had had a taste of freedom, and did not feel like going back to the hardships of a peasant's life. Therefore he stayed in Alexandria, hoping to find alternative employment.

The year 1841, in which the Sultan's Firman put an end to Muḥammad 'Alī's wars, marks the beginning of Alexandria as the economic capital of Egypt. It was Thomas Waghorn, an employee of the East India Company, who drew the attention of the world to Egypt's eminent suitability as a land route between East and West, far superior to the sea route around the Cape(1). This attracted to Alexandria a number of enterprising foreigners who took up permanent residence there. The city was also constantly teeming with sailors on shore-leave and workers transporting goods. All this greatly affected the native population, insofar as it caused

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(1) Cf. M. Muṣṭafā, op.cit., P.100.

the influx of country folk to Alexandria(1). Cafés, restaurants and hotels were opened to cater for the needs of the new settlers. Misbāḥ set up as a baker(2) to make bread and sell it to the newcomers(3). Thus Misbāḥ earned his living as an independent tradesman. Though independence had not yet brought him happiness, it was no doubt better than going back to slavery and humiliation.

It was when he was 26 years of age that he married and had a son, 'Abd Allāh. Neither Nadīm nor anyone writing about him mentions his mother's place of birth, but it is most probable that she came from Ṭībah, the same village as Misbāḥ. Her name was Sharīfah(4). It is said that Misbāḥ lived, at the time, in the Manshiyyah

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(1) The population of Alexandria consisted in 1799 of 60,000 inhabitants; in 1830 it had grown to 130,000 and in 1874 to 270,000. Cf. Mubārak, op.cit., vol. vii, P.50. The number of foreigners in Alexandria in 1872 was 47,316, and its total population was 212,043; cf. Mukhtār, op.cit., P.628.

(2) Taymūr, op.cit., P.3.

(3) The citizens used to bake their own bread.

(4) My conversation with Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibrāhīm. The conversation took place on January 1st 1958 in Cairo. Shaykh Muḥammad, who was born in 1240 A.H. ?(1825), also said that she was a respectable country woman.

quarter[1] but other sources maintain that he lived in Kūm al-Shuqāfah[2]. It is more than likely that he repeatedly changed his domicile, moving to better quarters as his circumstances improved and his prosperity grew.

The boy 'Abd Allāh grew up in the Manshiyyah quarter which can be rightly called the heart of the city. This district developed into a big general market for bread, meat and vegetables; almonds, walnuts and hazelnuts were also on sale there. It was a genuine Egyptian quarter, teeming with craftsmen and tradesman, natives of Alexandria and immigrants from everywhere, especially North Africans, Syrians and Hijazis[3]. That is where 'Abd Allāh spent his boyhood and adolescence, and it can be said that he spent it in poverty[4], though it was not extreme poverty according to Egyptian standards, for the family were never faced with starvation[5]. The paternal

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(1) Cf. Ahmad 'Atiyyat Allāh, Silsilat al-A'lām, 'Abd Allāh Nadīm, (Cairo 1955) P.2.

(2) My conversation with Shaykh M.A.Ibrāhīm, op.cit.

(3) 'Atiyyat Allāh, op.cit., P. 12.

* (5) Samīr, op.cit.,P. 3; Zaydān, Tarājim, vol. ii, P.105.

* (4) Taymūr, op.cit., P.3; 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah al-'Urābiyyah wa al-Ihtilāl al-Injilīzī (Cairo 1937) P. 530.

bakery provided them with sufficient bread, though they very often had nothing to go with it. Their clothes were threadbare, but covered their bodies; their house was shabby and bare; as to their health, it was left entirely to fate(1).

His parents seem to have been worthy people although entirely uneducated, as was the great majority of the middle and lower classes of Egypt at the time. His father was a man of rigid principles and had respect for religion and men of religion. As in all such cases, his deep religious faith and strict adherence to religious customs are attributable to his provincial origin, but some attribute it to his descent from the family of the Prophet. It has been claimed that he was descended from al-Ḥasan, the grandson of Muḥammad the Prophet(2). This is what Nadīm himself had to say: "My family is descended, on my father's side, from the great Idrīs, son of 'Abd Allāh al-Mahd called al-Kāmil, son of Ḥasan al-

(1) Cf. Taymūr, op.cit., P.3; Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.530; Aḥmad Amīn, Zu'amā' al-Iṣlāḥ fī al-'Aṣr al-Ḥadīth (Cairo 1948) P. 205.

(2) Cf. Samīr, op.cit., P.3; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, vol. ii, P. 105; Al-Ustādh, p. 87.

Mathnā, son of al-Ḥasan al-Sabṭ, son of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭalib[1].

When 'Abd Allāh was between 5 and 6 years old, his father sent him to the local school just round the corner. There he was taught to read and write in the manner typical for children of his social class at a time when Qur'ānic schools (Katātīb) were the most important factor in the popular education of Egypt. In both villages and cities they represented the only source of knowledge for the bulk of the population[2] since children received no tuition whatsoever either before they went there or after they left. As soon as they had acquired the rudiments of knowledge that were taught there, they were usually physically able to help the family business which used to be handed down from father to son. It is true that there was also a military school, a medical school, an engineering school and some other modern schools founded by Muḥammad 'Alī, but these had been called into existence with purely

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(1) Al-Ustādh, P. 87. The matter is discussed in detail P. 512-515.

(2) Cf. Amīn, Zu'amā', P.196; the few schools conducted by the government at this time, which were modelled along European lines, were open only to sons of officials, mostly non-Egyptians. Cf. Adams, op.cit., P. 21.

military purposes in view, without considering the interests of national education(1).

The standard of the Qur'ānic schools was exceedingly low, the schoolrooms were improvised and the teachers ill-qualified for their task. In fact, the term schoolroom hardly applied at all. The children crowded together in shops where teachers taught while they were selling goods to customers, or in dark rooms adjacent to the lavatories of the mosques. The standard of hygiene was appalling; the children were seated on straw mats on the floor, sick children close to healthy ones, regardless of the risk of infection. They all drank out of a single mug with which water was scooped out of a big jar. The standard of tuition was equally deplorable. The teacher, called Fiqī, was often blind, unable to see the children he was supposed to supervise. All he was proficient in was the Holy Qur'ān which he knew by heart and so could impart this knowledge to his pupils. The emphasis was on memorising the Qur'ān. This was, of course, purely mechanical and did not entail the slightest understanding of the text(2). The assistant of the Fiqī,

(1) Cf. Amīn, Zu'amā', P. 197.

(2) Amīn, Zu'amā', P. 196.

called 'Arīf, simultaneously taught some of the children; all he knew was how to read and write, and his job was to teach the beginners(1). Their method of tuition consisted of punishment for the mistakes committed(2), the punishment was meted out unsparingly in coarse abuse and brutal strokes with the usual implement, the palm-leaf stalk. It would have been of no avail for the chastised child to complain to his parents, for it was generally believed at the time that the Fiqī's rod came from heaven. When one of the children had mastered his task, that is to say finished memorising the Qur'ān, the occasion used to be celebrated by singing choral songs which praised the Fiqī's wisdom, and stressed the importance of obedience and submission to his punishment, for the greater glory of God(3).

The government took no notice of the shortcomings of this educational system with which it never interfered, although it was the only way to the famous University, al-Azhar. Things were left to drift.

In school fees the boy cost his father not more than a piastre (2½d.) a month, and some cakes for the teacher every feast day or some corn or maize, if the father

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(1) From my own experience.

(2) Amīn, Zu'amā', P. 196.

(3) From my own experience.

was a fellah[1]. These parental contributions constituted the teacher's salary. 'Abd Allāh was exceptionally intelligent, quick on the uptake and endowed with the gift of a retentive memory. He knew the whole of the Qur'ān by heart by the time he was nine[2]. This was a very early age, considering the length of the text to be remembered. It should be regarded as an unusual performance and much to the credit of the boy. The average age for memorising the whole of the Qur'ān was twelve[3]. In fact, 'Abd Allāh's retentive memory proved useful to him in all his studies. Indisputably, he showed great promise in his early schooldays. The boy's exceptional abilities also attracted the attention of his own father who, as already stated, was a man of deep religious convictions and held Islamic studies in great esteem. As his financial position had somewhat improved by this time, he wished 'Abd Allāh to devote his life to these studies. He was motivated by the sincere desire to serve God, but he may also have wanted to protect his boy from conscription, since young men studying religious subjects at the famous mosques were exempt from military

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(1) From my own experience.

(2) Samīr, op.cit., P. 3; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, vol.ii,P.105.

(3) This is the minimum age limit fixed for the admission to al-Azhar by its constitution 1930; I myself knew it by heart at the age of twelve.

service[1]. He sent 'Abd Allāh to the school of Jāmi' al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm Pasha of Alexandria[2] in the hope that he would, in time, become an 'Ālim or Shaykh, a man educated in the various branches of Muslim Theology, and well-versed in the interpretation and application of the multitudinous and perplexing details of the Sharī'ah or Divine Law of Islam.

The system of tuition in the schools of al-Jāmi' al-Azhar in Cairo, al-Jāmi' al-Aḥmadī at Ṭanṭā, al-Jāmi' al-Dusūqī at Dusūq, and Jāmi' al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm Pasha at Alexandria was essentially the same and adhered to traditional medieval methods[3]. These were purely mechanical, consisting in literal memorising of the text of books; comprehension of the sense did not seem to matter. It was the student who knew how to recite the whole text, word for word, who became top of his class; it was of little concern of his teachers that he would be quite unable to apply his knowledge in life outside. "Most students knew the rules of grammar by heart, but could not speak correctly. They were unable to compose

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(1) Muhammad Rashīd Ridā, al-Manār (Periodical) vol.viii, P. 267.

(2) This mosque was founded by Shaykh Ibrāhīm Pāsha who endowed it with large landed properties in 1240 A.H. (1825). He called it al-Jāmi' al-Anwar and wanted it to become for Alexandria what al-Azhar was for Cairo, namely a plade for teaching religious subjects, cf. Mubārak, op.cit.,vol.vii, P. 71.

(3) Cf. Adams, op.cit., P.21.

an essay or criticise a line of poetry, or even form an independent opinion on its merits, in spite of having mastered all the rules[1]". Every teacher, called Shaykh or 'Ālim, was surrounded by a circle of students sitting on mats in the cloisters of the mosque; he himself was seated on a sheepskin rug on the floor. Such sessions took place daily at fixed hours between the times of prayers. In spite of the regular hours of study there was nothing even approximately resembling a time-table. The course of study was arbitrarily planned; it was left to the Shaykh to select the material, and he chose any book for his subject. The student was also entirely free to choose any circle at any time, and to change his teacher at will. It is obvious that this method of tuition did not produce rapid results, especially with young students. How long it took the student to learn what eventually had to be mastered varied in proportion to his abilities, especially receptivity and memory, and to the amount of time he devoted to his studies, for beside the full-time students there were some that were engaged in some business or trade and studied in their leisure hours. But in the end no

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(1) 'Abd Allāh Fikrī Pasha the ex Minister of Education in Egypt; cf. Amīn, Zu'amā', PP. 197-198.

student could graduate from these schools, i.e. he could not obtain leave to become a Shaykh or 'Ālim, until he had finished memorising or at least reading with his teachers a number of set books, and until his teachers were ready to testify before the great Shaykh to his ability to perform the duties of a Shaykh(1).

The foundation of his education having been thus laid, the youthful 'Abd Allāh, then about ten years of age, was in 1856 sent to the school of Jāmi' Ibrāhīm Pasha in the Manshiyyah Quarter near his home, so that he might perfect the memorising of the Qur'ān and particularly learn to recite or intone it according to the strictly determined rules of the art which form an important part of a theological education, and are the subject of the first two years of study. The task was not difficult, for the student relied entirely on his ear, listening to the Shaykh and repeating what he heard; the context had been memorised already at the kuttāb. Having spent the usual two years at this study, he was initiated into the mysteries of several new subjects.

It was the main characteristic of the education

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(1) Cf. al-Manār, vol. viii. p.391; this is by no means the equivalent of a University degree. It was merely a licence to teach granted by the great Shaykh as the result of an oral interview before a committee of Sheikhs. Cf. Adams, op.cit., P.43.

imparted at these mosque schools that the emphasis was traditionalism, that is, on the literal transmission of the sciences exactly as they had been formulated by medieval scholastic 'Ulamā'. Deviation from the traditional text was not tolerated, so that research and investigation were non-existent. The formulation of independent opinion was deemed neither necessary nor indeed desirable.

Not all the sciences were held in equal esteem. Among the high-ranking ones were al-'Ulūm al-Naqliyyah (the "Traditional" Sciences) like 'Ilm al-Kalām (dogmatic theology), al-Tafsīr (the interpretation of the Qur'ān), al-Hadīth (the Traditions of the Prophet), Fiqh (jurisprudence) whose principles are considered to be a separate science, called Uṣūl al-Fiqh, Taṣawwuf and 'Ilm al-Akhlaq (mysticism and ethics). Supposed to have been transmitted literally, these sciences were not open to argument, as to submit any element in them to criticism would have appeared sacrilegious. All these were termed primary sciences, i.e. those studied for their own sake. The collective term al-'Ulūm al-'Aqliyyah ("rational" or "auxiliary" sciences) referred to those studied as a means to the understanding of the main, traditional sciences. They were: Naḥw (grammar), Ṣarf (syntax), al-'Arūḍ (prosody),

al-Balāghah (rhetoric) in its three branches al-Ma'ānī, al-Bayān, al-Badī' and al-Mantiq (logic). A special subject was the study of technical terms occurring in Mustalah al-Hadīth (the science of the Prophet's traditions). All the other branches of science, including literature, were, as has already been mentioned, either not taught at all or grossly neglected(1).

The lectures were based upon the text of some author, who was regarded as an authority on the subject. The student rarely read the original text, but rather, set himself to memorise by rote the commentary (Sharh) of some later writer upon the original text, or the glosses (Hāshiyah) of a still later writer upon the commentary, or still further, super-glosses (Ta'liqāt or Taqārīr) upon this, and the lesson consisted in discussion and explanation of the terms used by the writer.

The newcomer was required to study one book on each of the subjects taught, i.e. grammar, theology, jurisprudence and logic(2). These books were not studied

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(1) Cf. The Encyclopaedia of Islam (London 1913) vol. i, PP. 532-538; Muhammad Rashīd Ridā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh al-Imām (Cairo 1931), vol. iii, P. 254; J.Heyworth-Dunne, An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt (London 1938), PP. 41-66, 399-409.

(2) Amīn, Zu'amā', p. 287; also my own experience.

simultaneously but in turn, gradually progressing from the easier subjects to the more difficult ones. When the student had finished jurisprudence, he went on to the Usūl, and when he finished memorising the Nahw, he proceeded to rhetoric[1]. According to the regular method of instruction, he had to tackle, on his very first day, the text of an Arabic grammar called Sharh al-Kafrāwī 'alā al-Ājurrūmiyah[2] together with the commentary on it by some reputed master of the subject. Ninety-five per cent of the students, not excluding extremely intelligent ones like 'Abd Allāh ibn Misbāh, Muhammad 'Abduh, the later great Muftī of Egypt[3], could hardly understand anything. The teachers were accustomed to use incomprehensible terms of grammar or jurisprudence, and did not take any pains to explain their meaning. Also the other subjects, logic and theology, presented considerable, if not insuperable difficulties[4]. 'Abd Allāh Ibn Misbāh and his fellow students in Jāmi' al-Shaykh, and hundreds of students in al-Jāmi' al-Azhar in Cairo, and other mosque schools were driven to despair by these simply incomprehensible subjects. "I despaired of success in my studies", says Muhammad 'Abduh,

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(1) Amīn, Zu'amā', p. 294.
(2) i.e. The commentary of al-Kafrāwī on the text of al-Ājurrūmiyyah.
(3) Cf. Ridā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh, vol. iii, pp. 20-21.
(4) Ibid.

"and after I had spent a year and a half without understanding, I ran away from school .... and this is the effect experienced by ninety-five out of a hundred of those whom fate does not permit to attend upon someone who does not follow this manner of instruction, namely, wherein the teacher imparts what he knows, and what he does not know, without paying regard to the pupil and his capacity for understanding. But the majority of the students who do not understand, deceive themselves into supposing that they do understand something, so that they continue their studies until they have reached the age of manhood, and all the while they are dreaming the dreams of children.(1)"

'Abd Allāh Ibn Misbāḥ studied in Jāmi' al-Shaykh under Shaykh Muḥammad Jād, the head of the Shāfi'ī rites in Alexandria at the time, Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Sirsī, Shaykh al-Shāfi'ī, Shaykh Khafājah Sayf al-Islām, al-Mālikī, and Shaykh Muḥammad al-'Ashrī. In these classes, or Halaqat (circles) as they were called, he studied Shāfi'ī rites, jurisprudence, grammar, theology, logic, 'Uṣūl and rhetoric(2). The books on the subjects he studied had been written before the decadence of the Arabian culture

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(1) Muḥammad 'Abduh, as quoted by Riḍā Tārīkh al-Ustādh, vol. i, PP. 20-21.

(2) Samīr, op.cit., P.3; Al-Ustādh, P.848; 'Abd Allāh Nadīm, Sulāfat al-Nadīm, vol. i, (Cairo 1914) PP. 33-34.

set in but had since lost most of their spirit and appeal. What remained was merely the outward shell. The purpose of al-Nahw (grammar) had primarily been to teach one to speak and write correctly and to understand literary works. Gradually it became merely the means to understand the word of the text; its practical application fell into oblivion. 'Usūl al-Fiqh, intended to teach people how to handle practical legal problems in real life according to Islamic rules, degenerated into a dead theoretical science. al-Balāghah (rhetoric) was meant to teach literary criticism and the art of writing but those who in later days interpreted its rules were non-Arabs, who were not able to express themselves in perfect Arabic. Such methods of tuition stressed the words, and not their content. They gave the student skill and efficiency in discussion and verbal argument, but unfortunately the subject of the argument was futile. In spite of his efforts/Abd Allāh found it difficult to cope with both the subjects taught and the methods of tuition(1).

In the formative years of a student's life, mostly at the onset of his studies, it is frequently possible to trace the deminating influence of some strong personality whose impact on the youth's spiritual and intellectual development is so great that it becomes decisive. This

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(1) Amīn, Zu'amā', P. 205.

phenomenon can be observed in 'Abd Allāh's life. The remarkable man who moulded his character, aroused his interest in literature and thereby guided him in his choice of career was Shaykh Muhammad al-'Ashrī, one of his teachers at Jāmi' al-Shaykh(1). Shaykh al-'Ashrī was a man of letters with a great love and understanding of literature. He drew 'Abd Allāh into his own sphere of interests and guided his first steps on the path of literature(2) in which he was destined to become so proficient afterwards. He discovered his latent talent for composing rhymed prose, Zajal and his great facility for improvising verse. He encouraged him to read classical works of literature, induced him to make use of his good memory to learn by heart the Maqāmāt, poetry and rhymed prose. This was no doubt a very good way to develop the beginner's sense of rhyme and rhythm, to make him recognise the musical qualities of poetry, to teach him scansion and sentence structure and enrich his vocabulary. 'Abd Allāh also obeyed the recommendations of his mentor to frequent the clubs in which budding men of letters used to associate, and also used to accompany him to the literary circles of Alexandria(3).

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(1) Sulāfah, vol. i, PP. 33, 34.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Sulāfah, vol. i, PP. 33-34.

The Shaykh taught 'Abd Allāh composition and style, by making him listen to an improvised piece of poetry, Zajal or rhymed prose which was followed with a similar attempt by the pupil. The improvisations were either serious or humorous, and often in a joking mood(1). This was the teacher nearest to 'Abd Allāh's heart with whom he kept in contact after his studies were over. He always admitted how great the influence of Shaykh 'Ashrī had been on him, and always stressed his gratitude to the man who had given him the primary impulse in the direction which lead him to the top of the literary profession(2).

At that time there was no chair of literature at any of the mosque schools. In fact, the practical method of teaching style and composition applied by Shaykh al-'Ashrī in the case of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Miṣbaḥ was not only disregarded, but would have been frowned on and even looked down upon by the teachers of the respected and generally acknowledged subjects(3). The teaching of literature was more or less amateurish, and considered not a serious pursuit. Therefore most of the students

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(1) Sulāfah, vol. i, PP. 33 - 34.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Amīn, Zu'amā', P. 206.

of that time remained inarticulate even after completing their studies. Their teachers were no better in this respect. Thus, for instance, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī, a famous teacher at the even more famous al-Jāmi' al-Azhar, candidly admitted, when teaching most famous books on rhetoric that he himself could not even compose an ordinary letter. He said disparagingly that this kind of work was only of concern to students of modern schools. In spite of that, the Shaykh enjoyed an excellent reputation in Arabic literature. He was regarded as one of the greatest Shaykhs at al-Azhar and knew very well how to teach and to criticise, how to invent problems when interpreting books, how to make easy things difficult and difficult things easy(1). So a would-be poet simply imitated what his predecessors had done; there was neither method nor principle about it(2). This method was responsible for the slavishly imitative ways even of the most celebrated literary figures of that time(3).

The life of the literary circles was immensely attractive to 'Abd Allāh. He used to attend his regular classes in the day-time, listening to lectures of which he understood but little, but in the evenings, he frequented

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(1) Amīn, Zu'amā', P. 294.

(2) Ibid P.206.

(3) See Chapter vi.

literary circles listening to recitals of Zajal and poetry to satisfy his heart's desire. He visited coffee-houses, where he listened to popular romances to the sounds of the Rabābah. The narrator told stories of 'Antarah and Abū Zayd al-Hilālī and al-Zīr Sālim[1], and for a brief spell the spectators lived the life of the poem. 'Abd Allāh listened entranced, while he observed the effect of the story on the audience each member of which took sides with his favourite hero to the point of excitement[2]. He also frequented shops whose owners were addicted to literature, where often lively discussions on literary topics took place, Zajal and poems were recited and literary anecdotes exchanged. He used to listen to all that, before he realised that his own vocation lay in that direction, and not in the one his father had in mind, when he sent him to school. He began imitating them, composing and reciting rhymed prose, Zajal and poems of his own. Sometimes he won the admiration and acclaim of his equals, sometimes he failed and was laughed at. But all the time he was learning[3].

Shaykh 'Ashrī, however, did his best to impress on

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(1) 'Atiyyat Allāh, op.cit., P. 14.

(2) Cf. 'Abd Allāh Nadīm, Al-Tankīt wa al-Tabkīt, (Periodical, Alexandria) 6.6.1881, PP.10-11.

(3) Amīn, Zu'amā', P.206.

the young adept that literary talent alone would not make him a master of his art. Since Shaykh 'Ashrī was a great admirer of Badī' ornamentations in poetry and prose, he influenced his student 'Abd Allāh in this direction, made him read the poetry and rhymed prose of medieval writers, and imitate what he had read, so that he should master literary forms and Badī' devices. This had the effect that 'Abd Allāh, instead of attending classes, spent his days at the school library in reading and memorising what had been pointed out to him as worthy of attention by his tutor. Thus he gradually drifted away from the regular course of study.(1) Though he spent approximately five years at the Jāmi' al-Shaykh's school - 1855-1860 - he was not very interested in the compulsory subjects taught there. In the later years of his studies he disregarded his lectures entirely since his time was wholly divided between the library and the literary circles outside. As he himself relates, literary jokes were his food and lines of poetry his refreshment in this period of his life, and he travelled long distances to be able to listen to Zajal and speeches and deliver them himself(2). The most popular was Badī' ornamentation, a style very much in fashion at

(1) Taymūr, op. cit., p. 4; Samīr, op. cit., p. 4.
(2) Sulāfah, vol. 1, p. 65.

that time[1].

Men of letters at that time held the view that "the subject matter of literature is property common to all men and that artistry can be displayed only in the wording, so that to improve on somebody else's saying is not plagiarism but proof of originality.... They were expending their energies on rhymed and heavily ornamented repetitions Maqāmāt in imitation of al-Harīrī, and poets were turning out panegyrics and love poems on conventional patterns or indulging in the characteristic exercises of Tashtīr and Takhmīs, in which they diluted the poems of predecessors by imitative insertions of their own[2]".

The people he generally consorted with were of his own, or rather his father's, social class, mostly common folk, manual workers or tradesmen. Their customs and their way of life could not but influence his own, nor could their sayings and proverbs picturing their life with their freshness, their gusto and their facetiousness, their sadness and grief fail to colour his style and diction. He used to attend their gatherings, listen to the folk-song reciters, and challenge them with his own Zajal[3].

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(1) Samīr, op.cit., P.4.

(2) Pierre Cachia, Tāhā Husayn (London 1956), P. 5.

(3) 'Atiyyat Allāh, op.cit., P. 15.

He also associated with gentlefolk and hobnobbed with the rich and famous(1). At the meetings of the smart upper-class literary(2) circles to which he had been introduced by his tutor, he recited his own Zajal poetry and compositions in rhymed prose in Badī' style. Thus he grew familiar with both the popular songs and what was called at that time classical literature, combining the merits of literary eloquence with the peculiar flavour of everyday speech. It can be said that he had, at the time, a kind of split literary personality: associating with two disparate circles of friends, he cultivated the style characteristic of both, and gave each of them its due. Thus both social classes, the working class from which he came and the upper class with which he mixed, influenced the character of his literary production.

'Abd Allāh was ambitious(3): he experimented, inventing new styles on Badī' lines(4), and soon he rose above the level of his contemporaries.

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(1) Sulāfah, vol. i, P. 70.

(2) Among these circles was that of Mustafā Pasha Subhī, a famous poet, which was later called al-Mirbad. It was a private circle, reserved for members; cf. Taymūr, op.cit., P. 96.

(3) Samīr, op.cit., P. 4.

(4) Cf. Ibid.; also Sulāfah, vol. i, P. 69.

His innate cleverness and his reliable memory favoured his literary growth, and his reputation as a man of letters spread all over the city.(1)

His literary fame reached the ears of his father who was far from pleased. In sending his son to school, he had intended him to become an 'Ālim and to serve God; besides, poetry was not among the subjects studied at the mosque schools. Egyptian religious circles, at the time, looked down on the poet and accorded him inferior rank and status, for most of them were spongers and far from truthful. Misbāh realised that his son was irresistibly drawn towards poetry and feared that it would divert him from the way he intended him to go; and that instead of becoming an 'Ālim, respected and honoured, he would become a despised sponger. What is more, in Misbāh's eyes poetry was equivalent to the service of Satan.(2) Had not God said in the Qur'ān:

> "As for poets, the erring follow them.
> Has thou not seen how they stray in every valley,
> And how they say that which they do not?(3)

Therefore his father put him before the alternative of continuing his studies, in which case he would continue to maintain him while they lasted, or to choose literature and fend for himself.

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(1) Samīr, op.cit., p.4.

(2) Amīn, Zu'amā', p.207.

(3) Qur'ān, Sūrat al-Shu'arā' (the Poets) 'Āyah Nos.224-225-226.

To live on the proceeds of literary pursuits, even if not virtually impossible, was hardly a practical way of earning one's livelihood in Egypt at the time. 'Abd Allāh, however, did not hesitate: he knew where his vocation lay, he had tasted the joys of poetry and so he chose literature. Though he abandoned Jāmi' al-Shaykh school at the age of sixteen it had helped him to amass a certain store of knowledge, consisting of a wide vocabulary and a large number of traditions, not to mention classical maxims and proverbs, the veritable stock in trade of a poet. It must also be admitted that these frequent academic disputations at the school had contributed in a way to 'Abd Allāh's becoming a past-master of the argumentative debating method, a proficient speaker and dialectician.

Until 1860, Alexandria had been his world, and its literary circles his haunts. Now he was confronted by two main problems: how to occupy his time, for the disappearance of school and studies from his life had left a certain void which had to be filled, and how to keep body and soul together, after his father had withdrawn his support. Being too full of energy and vitality to tolerate a prolonged period of idleness, he soon tired of doing nothing, and the idea occurred to him that travelling would show him the way out of his difficulties.(1)

Being ambitious travelling was the best way to exchange his small world for a larger one, where he could gain experience

(1) Sulāfah, vol. 1, p.24.

and knowledge. In the meantime he had formed ties of friendship with a man of letters, 'Abd al-'Azīz Hāfiz,[1] who became his friend, and it was really Hāfiz who encouraged 'Abd Allāh to go on a journey.[2] So 'Abd Allāh left that city for al-Sa'īd (Upper Egypt) in the beginning of 1278 A.H.[3] (1861). He spent six months there, travelling around from one town or village to another, attending literary circles and taking part in its competitions. He was a boon companion at the tables of the rich where his jovial high spirits, his ready response to a challenge, his skill in improvisation, his literary jokes and recitals of Zajal were always welcome. He had to return most of the way to Alexandria on foot, and only went by train when he could find the money.[4] However, neither amusements nor fatigue made him stray from the chosen path. He persisted in the struggle which, he hoped, would make his dreams come true.

This journey affected his life in four different ways. In the first place, he gained knowledge and experience and became acquainted with literary circles outside Alexandria. Secondly, his personality underwent a change for the better. He had been shy and timid[5], afraid of travelling which, to him, implied the threat of finding himself alone and helpless among strangers, without work or means of support. The journey

(1) Cf. Sulāfah, vol. i, p.27.
(2) Sulāfah, vol. I, p.49.
(3) Sulāfah, vol. I, p.70.
(4) Sulāfah, vol. I, p.66.
(5) Sulāfah, vol. I, p.27.

gave him confidence in his abilities. As he says in a letter to one of his friends: "The timidity of my nature, which you could observe before, disappeared after my journey; having to grapple with life and to struggle for it gave me confidence in myself. Who gets used to an empty life and spends it in idleness, who never travels and confines himself within the limits of one town, content with his own people, is exactly comparable to a falcon who is put in a cage. He will be pleased with his food and drink and enjoy himself in his cage; but if the food is delayed, he will wonder and be amazed, he will appeal for help and get no reply, until he becomes exactly like a contemptible chick. If the door of his cage is open, he will lose his head and miss his way to the nest, and perhaps only avoid the net to fly to his final destruction. But the man who wants to travel is like a crane, sometimes Shāmī /Syrian/, sometimes Turkish, sometimes Egyptian and sometimes Baṣrī. Not deprived of the best of the desert, he also gets the fruit of the Nile /the cultivated area/, and increases his knowledge of people and places."(1) Thirdly, since he was very successful in entertaining the rich whose guest he was, he was given the epithet "Nadīm", a name under which he afterwards became famous.(2) The fourth, though indirect, consequence of his journey was the abrupt end of his popularity among the professional poets and boon companions of Alexandria, a

(1) Sulāfah, vol. I, p.74.

(2) Later it became the family surname.

popularity which had begun under such promising auspices. The reception his ex-colleagues gave him on his return to Alexandria did not come up to his expectations: it was more than chilly, it was hostile. He had aroused their jealousy, bringing back experience which they did not possess, and surpassing them in competitions. Such experience could become dangerous for them in the rivalry for the favours of the rich patrons of literature who might prefer his companionship to theirs and single him out as the recipient of their gifts. Thus he himself and the newly introduced forms of Badī' in poetry and rhymed prose, with which they found it so difficult to compete, became the target of violent attacks. They joined forces to fight him and it was actually a struggle for survival.(1)

'Abd Allāh Nadīm, however, resented these vicious attacks, and felt disappointed,(2) frustrated, and increasingly ill at ease. He longed for a more favourable literary climate in which to deply his talents. Cairo(3) decidedly seemed the most suitable place, and his hopes were directed towards it.(3) Thus, impelled by the spirit of adventure, prompted by his literary ambitions, he set off for Cairo, and became a guest of his friend, the above-mentioned 'Abd al-'Azīz Hāfiz.(4)

His first objective in Cairo was to find an occupation which would enable him to devote his leisure hours to the

(1) Cf. Sulāfah, vol. I, pp. 40, 41.
(2) Sulāfah, vol. I, p.24.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Sulāfah, vol. I, p.24. Hāfiz was an employee of the railway inspectorate.

satisfaction of his desire for literature. Therefore, he decided to train as a telegraphist. The idea of choosing this occupation, so unconnected with literary pursuits, may seem strange in a man whose inclinations all centred on poetry and literature, but it may have been suggested by his host, 'Abd al-'Azīz Ḥāfiẓ, for the telegraph offices were attached to the railway where the latter was employed. At that particular time both departments were being enlarged.(1) Thus the two needs: 'Abd Allāh's need of a paid occupation, and the need of the railway administration for literate young men to fill the increasing number of offices, happened to coincide at the moment. In this period of general illiteracy, it was by no means easy to find people able to read and write, and still more difficult to find young men for minor posts who would satisfy the requirements of the government.(2) In spite of the fact that telegraphy as an invention was entirely new to the Egyptian mind, and especially so to Nadīm, whose education did not include modern science, his gift of inborn intelligence and his good memory made him an efficient telegraphist within a few weeks of taking employment.(3)

He worked in different offices, which usually were attached

(1) In 1855, i.e. at the outset of Sa'īd's reign, telegraph wires were laid in Egypt over a distance of 2,349 kilometres, but the length gradually increased until it reached in 1874 the total of 8,359 miles; cf. Mubārak, op.cit., vol.vii, p.94.
(2) My conversation with 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aqqād which took place in his house at Heliopolis, Egypt, in December 1957 and January 1958.
(3) Samīr, op.cit., p.3.

to railway stations. At first Nadīm did not feel happy in his new occupation. He was stranded among strangers, separated from his friends, deprived of the familiar literary circles and the intellectual stimulant they provided. Not only did the noise of the railway track trouble him by day and disturb his peace at night, but he had also to endure the unwelcome but inevitable companionship of illiterate fellow-workers.(1) This is how 'Abd Allāh complains of these hardships in a letter to 'Abd al-'Azīz Ḥafīẓ: "When I left Cairo for Binhā, I took leave from my spiritual life and from the joys of society. I have come to a place where I am friendless. You are in heaven and I am in hell".(2) In another letter he writes: "Be lenient with me if you find fault with my letter, for I have written it after my hours of duty, amidst the warning signals of the engines and the rumbling of the trains, surrounded by ruffians, drunkards and hashish addicts, groups playing dominoes and others reading Kalīla wa Dimnā. Some others play cards, and one jumps like a monkey. I am greatly afflicted, for the whole place is like a public house."(3) He was in danger of being drawn into the orbit of this enforced companionship,

(1) While he was working in Binhā the capital of al-Qalyūbiyyah province. Each station consisted at the time of one large room containing both the booking hall and the telegraph office, where porters and carriers had unrestricted access between the times of the trains. A bedroom was upstairs which he had to share with the ticket collector.

(2) Sulafāh, vol. I, p.51.

(3) Ibid., p. 49.

and feared the corrupting influence of his environment. "When I joined the ranks of the telegraphists, I mixed with people most of whom are drunkards, ignorant of the right way of life, the most godfearing and pious of whom loses his head utterly as soon as he sights liquor, and the most virtuous of whom is addicted to lewd and excessive pleasure [lit. Nuwāsism], the most modest of whom is greedy in his hopes. They swear by the name of God, knowing that they are liars; they see no wrong in adultery, and are rougher than wild beasts. When they talk to you, they are untruthful, if they give you a promise, they break their word, if you entrust them with your property, they betray your trust and rob you; if you show them the right way, they go astray. I often preach to them, but they only shun my sermons. I have tired of them, but the green branch of my belief may wither and I will be unable to protect myself against these dangers. I have reached the point when their evil nature threatens to rob me of my own, and to run away with it to the caves of the hyenas. I have already been involved in their nonsensical talk, and have put on the disguise of a fool."(1) However, Nadīm was saved by a kind fate before the current engulfed him, and was transferred to al-Qasr al-'Ālī,(2) the

(1) Sulāfah, vol. I, p.66.

(2) Ibid, pp. 66-71; Samīr, op.cit., p.5; Taymūr, op.cit., p.4; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, vol.ii, p.106.

palace of Viceroy Ismā'īl's mother, Princess Khūshyār Khānim Effendi in Cairo.(1) The date of his promotion cannot be verified with any exactitude, but it is highly improbable that it took place before Ismā'īl's accession to the throne in 1863, for Ismā'īl's mother changed her residence to al-Qaṣr al-'Ālī only after Ismā'īl had become the Viceroy of Egypt. It is certain that it was meant to be a reward for his efficiency in the performance of his duties, since only the best among the civil servants were chosen for work in the royal palaces. It had not escaped the attention of his superiors that he had an intellectual background, and that his knowledge of the language surpassed that of his fellow-workers in the department, and so he was sent to one of the most important telegraph offices in the country.

Nadīm's social position was now a respected one, all the more so as he was attached to the royal household. He had no financial worries, and could, at last, settle down to an orderly existence in Cairo. He divided his time between his work and his only pastime, or rather his only love, literature, to which he devoted every minute of his leisure, as if he hoped to compensate, by additional zeal, for everything he had missed in Binhā.(2) The longing for the life of the literary circles

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(1) For details about the palace and the household of the princess and her life there cf. Aḥmad Shafīq Pasha, Mudhakkirātī fī Niṣf Qarn, (Cairo 1934) vol. 1, pp.70-72 and 85-86.

(2) Sulāfah, vol. I, p.66.

overcame him again. The characteristic of the intellectual world of Cairo at the time was the existence of private circles which consisted of a heterogeneous mixture of various elements: some were adherents of the traditional school of the Azharist class, with their uncompromising attitude and medieval mentality, some, with their European education and their modern way of thought, represented the Effendi class, some were rich and some poor, employers and employees, merchants and tradesmen.(1) All of them had one characteristic in common, and that was their interest in a certain subject such as literature, religion, education or even music. The hosts, around whom these circles centred, came mainly from the educated upper class of society.(2) Among these hosts were 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, the later Minister of Education, in whose circle education was the main subject of discussion,(3) Mahmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī, the celebrated poet and later Prime Minister, in whose mansion poets and men of letters assembled to deploy their literary activities,(4) and 'Abd Allāh Pasha Fikrī, also a later Minister of Education, who enjoyed a great reputation as a poet and master of Badī'figures, in whose circle the artistic style reigned supreme. There was also Ahmad Wahbī(5) who had a tarboosh shop in al-Ghūriyyah, and

(1) Atiyyat Allāh, op.cit., p.19.
(2) For details cf. Amīn, Zu'amā', pp.200, 201, 210, 211.
(3) Cf. Amīn , Zu'amā', p.201.
(4) Amīn, Zu'amā', p.207.
(5) Died in 1291 A.H. (1874); cf. Taymūr, op.cit., p.144.

founded a literary circle there,[1] and some others.

Beside the private circles there were common gatherings, accessible to the general public, which were, however, chiefly composed of beginners or poetasters, or even illiterate men who assembled in coffee-houses or parks or at festive occasions, but their standards were too low to satisfy the fastidious literary taste of 'Abd Allāh Nadīm. "Most of the habitues were ignorant men", said Nadīm, "overfond of criticising others, envious, spiteful and malevolent; ... they were, moreover, spongers, bent of receiving as many presents as they could for their eulogies of the rich, plagiarists, practising literary theft."[2] In his disappointment, he was near to renouncing literary companionship altogether, when his friend, 'Abd al-'Azīz Hāfiz introduced him to Shaykh Ahmed Wahbī.[3]

Some private literary circles in Cairo were not accessible to everyone. They were so exclusive that the newcomer who had no known literary merits was subjected to an interview, the purpose of which was to prove that he was worthy of admission. Thus the circles were protected from the infiltration of undesirable elements.[4] Nadīm, interviewed by Ahmad Wahbī, complained of the intolerable atmosphere of the literary world

(1) Taymūr, op.cit., p.144.
(2) Sulāfah, vol. I, pp.25, 29.
(3) Sulāfah, vol. I, p.26.
(4) Sulāfah, vol. I, p.25.

of Cairo which had depressed him so much, but Ahmad Wahbī comforted him, discussed literary forms with him, and tested his knowledge of Badī' figures in order to assess his abilities. In point of fact, what he wanted to bring to light was whether this candidate for a circle of high literary repute was a gifted poet or merely a plagiarist. When he recited poems to test Nadīm's knowledge of Badī' figures, the latter impressed him by repeating each of them literally, and answering in the same style each time. Ahmad Wahbī recognised his talent and his mastery of Badī' styles; he was also satisfied that Nadīm was not mercenary or greedy of gain.(1) Thus Ahmad Wahbī welcomed Nadīm to his circle at al-Ghūriyyah quarter and consequently introduced him to the six most famous literary men in Egypt at that time.(2) These were: the poet of Egypt, Mahmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī, al-Sayyid 'Alī Abū al-Nasr, Mahmūd Safwat al-Sā'ātī , al-Shaykh Ahmad al-Zurqānī, Muhammad Bey Sa'īd and 'Abd Allāh Pasha Fikrī. Most of them presided over circles of their own which Nadīm could now frequent and soon he was joined to them by strong ties of friendship. He also attended the circle of Muhammad Pasha Sayyid Ahmad at his mansion in the Shabrā quarter(3).

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(1) Sulāfah, vol. I, pp.25-26.

(2) Ibid.; cf. also Taymūr, op.cit., p.4.

(3) Sulāfah, vol. I, p.55.

Nadīm and his mastery of Badī' styles, which were the fashion at the time, soon became the talk of the town. Men of letters used to ask him to compose for them letters in Badī' style for different purposes.(1)

In this period Nadīm also availed himself of the opportunity of continuing the scholastic studies he had interrupted when he left Jāmi' al-Shaykh. At al-Jāmi' al-Azhar free lectures were held at all times of the day, and these he now attended in his leisure hours.(2) Al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Imbābī (3), later the Rector of al-Azhar, was one of his teachers there.(4) He also became acquainted with a number of students, some of whom were later to become the pioneers of new religious, literary, social and political movements. Closest to him among his fellow-students was Shaykh Hamzah Fathallah, who was to become a famous man of letters.(5)

In 1871, Nadīm must have heard of the fiery minded Jamāl al-Dīn, whose lectures aroused at that time the attention of all the intellectuals in the country, and caused many heated discussions. Like some more broadminded Azharists, Nadīm felt attracted to Jamāl al-Dīn's salon, and frequently attended his

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(1) Cf.Sulāfah, vol. I, p.53,54.

(2) Samīr, op.cit., p.5.

(3) Died in 1896, cf. Shaykh M.H.'Abd al-Rāziq, Arabic Literature since the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century, Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution, vol.ii, p.762.

(4) Cf. Al-Ustadh, pp. 646, 894.

(5) For many years chief inspector of Arabic in the Government Schools, cf. Samīr, op.cit., p.5.

lectures,[1] in which "he expounded some of the most advanced text-books on theology, philosophy, jurisprudence, astronomy and mysticism."[2] Jamāl al-Dīn "not only read and discussed with his pupils many works of Muslim scholars which were then much neglected, but also charmed all who attended these gatherings with his own learned and engaging conversation and comment on a variety of subjects."[3] These lectures were not only confined to Arabian culture, but introduced his disciples to a number of modern works of European provenance which dealt with various sciences and had been translated into Arabic. These lectures were the cause of numerous disputes between the orthodox students and Sheikhs and the adherents of Jamāl al-Dīn. The former, motivated by their rigid principles or rather by jealousy, began to spread rumours about Jamāl al-Dīn, alleging that he was a free-thinker and that his lessons constituted an offence against Islam, and were liable to sow the seeds of doubt in the minds of his students, leading them into error, so that they were in danger of forfeiting two lives, one on earth and one in Heaven.[4] Jamāl al-Dīn's students did their best to defend him and to refute these accusations. A heated controversy ensued, in consequence of which his fame grew and

(1) Al-Manār, vol.xxviii, p.710; Riḍā , Tārīkh al-Ustādh, vol. i, p.46; Adams, op.cit., p.221; C. Brockelmann; Geschichte Der Arabischen Litteratur, (Leiden 1942) vol.iii, p.332; H.A.R. Gibb, Studies in Contemporary Arabic Literature., Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution, vol.IV, p.755
(2) Adams, op.cit., p.6.
(3) Ibid., p.34.
(4) Riḍā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh, vol. I., p.32.

spread all over the city. Thus the campaign against Jamāl al-Dīn, instead of deterring students from attending his lectures, only resulted in attracting new ones, who mostly recruited themselves from the moderate group of both schools, the traditional Azharists and the modernists from the Europeanised "Effendi" class.(1) The number of his disciples increased and became the core of a new intellectual, scientific and literary movement.(2)

Jamāl al-Dīn's lectures were divided into two distinctly different kinds. Some consisted of regular scientific work, i.e. the reading and interpretation of texts, and some implied no consistent, regular course of study, and were more or less desultory and spontaneous in that the discussion developed on the spur of the moment. These lectures were held in different places, at his own place, when people came to visit him, in the house of other people when he went to see them, and finally in a coffee house called al-Būsṭah.(3) His salon at al-Būsṭah was quite informal and popular in character. There Jamāl al-Dīn presided over free discussions of diverse topics. Early in the evening he used to go to the coffee-house he frequented ~~and~~ with his audience crowded around him in a semi-circle. Some of these people were 'Ulamā', poets, linguists, doctors,

(1) Adams, op.cit., pp.14-15.
(2) Cf. Amīn, Zu'amā', p.63.
(3) In al-'Atabah Square, Cairo.

engineers, scientists, physicists, some were civil servants or politicians, so that their general outlook and interests were different. Their only common denominator was that they were interested in their mentor's ideas, which were "animated by a genuine desire for the regeneration of Islam, and an ardent faith in the possibility of its regeneration which was contagious."(1) In imparting his ideas to his audience, his fascinating personality and his eloquence proved no less attractive than his ideas. "When he began to speak, everybody's eyes were glued to him and each of the listeners was spellbound. He often went on speaking until late at night."(2) He was that rare phenomenon, a teacher with a definite vision of his own. He was aware of the fact that the Egyptians had become a timorous nation; cowed by centuries of humility and slavery, they had become incapable of independent thought. He wanted to open their minds' eyes, to remove from them the film with which ages of darkness had obscured them. He wanted to incite them to break away from their rut and aim at a better life. He never tired of talking about Egyptian problems in which he was passionately interested. He was a master of expression whose every word was to the point. He had an answer to every question, a solution to every problem. He was

(1) Adams, op.cit., p.14.

(2) Muhammad 'Abduh as quoted by Ridā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh, vol. i, p.44.

unequalled in discussion;[1] he could quicken the pulses of his audience and set their imagination afire.

Nadīm was a frequent guest of Jamāl al-Dīn's circles.[2] He attended them in the congenial society of young enthusiasts like himself. Among these were Muḥammad 'Abduh, 'Abd al-Karīm Salmān, Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī, Sa'd Zaghlūl, Ibrāhīm al-Hilbāwī, 'Alī Maẓhar, Salīm al-Naqqāsh, Adīb Isḥaq and Ḥifnī Nāṣif. There were also Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī, 'Abd al-Salām al-Muwaylihī, his brother Ibrāhīm al-Muwaylihī and other prominent figures of that time.[3]

While he was travelling through Muslim countries, Jamāl al-Dīn realised the source of many evils. The moral character of many Muslims was incredibly low, owing to the misinterpretation of certain religious principles of Islam. He aimed therefore, at first, at a reform of the religion itself which was to be adapted to the demands of the actual conditions of the time. He said to Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī[4]: "What the Islamic world needs is religious reform, for, if we observe the

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(1) Cf. Riḍā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh, vol. 1, pp. 34-37.
(2) Adams, op. cit., p. 221; H.A.R. Gibb, B.S.O.S., vol. iv, p. 755; Rafi'ī, Asr Isma'īl, vol. ii, p. 276; Riḍā, Tarikh al-Ustadh, vol. i, p. 46; al-Manar, vol. xxviii, pp. 709-710.
(3) Amīn, Zu'ama', p. 65; Riḍā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh, vol. i, p.46.
(4) Quoted by 'Uthmān 'Amīn, cf. al-Kitāb, vol. iv, p. 681.

European revolutionary movements, we find that the most prominent of their causes have been the Protestant movements since the days of Luther." He also said that it was the aim of his own religious movement to free the minds of the common as well as the educated people from a wrong interpretation of religious principles, including the cardinal tenets of Islam. Thus their belief in fate and destiny was the cause of their fatalism which was responsible for their lethargic endurance of bad times and bad rulers.(1) "Hitherto all movements of religious reform in Islam had followed the lines not of development, but of retrogression. There had been a vast number of preachers, especially in the last two hundred years, who had taught that the decay of Islam as a power in the world was due to its followers having forsaken ancient ways of simplicity and the severe observance of the law as understood in the early ages of the faith. Jamāl al-Dīn's originality consisted in this that he sought to convert the religious intellect of the countries where he preached to the necessity of reconsidering the whole Islamic position, and, instead of clinging to the past, of making an onward intellectual movement in harmony with modern knowledge."(2)

Jamāl al-Dīn was also aware of the fact that Muslim power

(1) Al-Kitāb, vol. i, pp.681-682.

(2) Blunt, Secret., pp.100-101.

had been dissipated in endless dissensions and divisions, that Muslim countries had lapsed into ignorance and helplessness to become the prey of Western aggression.(1) He believed, therefore, that if Muslim countries were once freed from European domination or interference, and Islam itself reformed and adapted to the demands of the existing conditions, Muslims would be able to work out for themselves a new and glorious order of things without dependence on the imitation of European nations.(2) But in no country had Jamāl al-Dīn yet seen the possibility of realising his plans of reform. He found it now in Egypt, which was to become the starting point of his activity. He soon realised that there was no prospect of religious reform in Egypt, unless the nation was first delivered from the state of bondage and humiliation in which it was kept by the ruler Ismā'īl . The Egyptians had been plunged in darkness and night for ages, and what they needed most was the ability to control their own destiny. "It was a deep-rooted belief in Egypt before 1293 A.H. (1876) that the management of both public and private affairs was a prerogative of the ruler whose decisions, however arbitrary, had to be accepted without demur. Their happiness or misery entirely depended on the justice or injustice, honesty or dishonesty, clemency or tyranny of an autocrat. Nobody else could influence

(1) Zaydān, Mashāhīr, vol.II, p.66.

(2) Cf. Adams, op.cit., p.13.

the affairs of state or the internal administration of the country in any way; nobody had, or even claimed, the right to express his opinion on public matters. A deep gulf divided Egypt from the rest of the world. The rulers kept the people in ignorance of the revolutionary movements in other countries and prevented any contact with the world outside. Though students went to Europe in the days of Muhammad 'Alī Pasha... the nation derived but little profit from them.(1) The prejudice against Egyptians, which was prevalent in high circles at the time, gave them little scope after their return from Europe. "Though Ismā'īl had eventually called an Assembly of Notables into being by the end of 1866 the final decision in all matters remained with the ruler, to counteract whose wishes would have meant death or confiscation of one's entire property and exile to the White Nile in the Upper Sudan, which was equivalent to certain death."(2)

This was the state of things Jamāl al-Dīn had set out to amend. He began training his disciples in platform speaking to be the voice of his reform; later many of them became famous orators.(3) Jamāl al-Dīn who discovered Nadīm's extraordinary gift for public speaking devoted a great deal of time and attention to train him in oratory. This is how Nadīm

(1) Muhammad 'Abduh as quoted by Ridā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh, vol.i, p.36.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Al-Manār, vol. xxviii, pp.709-710.

learned the art of public speaking. Jamāl also prompted his disciples to write articles clamouring for social, religious and moral reform, and to publish them in the newspapers.

Nadīm attended Jamāl al-Dīn's salon and lectures regularly for nearly three years, in which he absorbed Jamāl al-Dīn's principles and became acquainted with progressive and thinking contemporaries. But this happy settled life was suddenly interrupted by his dismissal from al-Qaṣr al-'Ālī: Nadīm had "made a mistake". He had incurred the displeasure of "Black" Khalīl Aghā, the chief Eunuch (the majordomo of the Princess's household) and the centre of the attention at al-Qaṣr al-'Ālī. Khalīl Aghā's influence not only in the Royal Palace, but also in the country surpassed that of the ministers and even that of the Princes of royal blood, because he was the favourite of Ismā'il and his mother. Every man of importance in the country considered himself lucky if he could serve him. His influence made itself felt in the whole of Egypt and the Sudan. He accumulated immense wealth and his power exceeded even that of Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdī, the Black King of Egypt.(1) His character, however, singularly lacked consistence, it was strangely contradictory; to kill and pray, to seize people's property and spend on building schools, none of these was alien

(1) Cf. Taymūr, op.cit., p.4; Amīn, Zu'amā', p.209; (Kafūr was born in Nubia or Abyssinia between the years 291 A.H. (904) and 308 A.H. (920). He died in 356 A.H.(968). For details see The Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol.ii, pp. 623-624.

to him, but cruelty and tyranny prevailed.(1) When Nadīm annoyed him, he was not only dismissed from his position, but also cruelly whipped.(2) The exact nature of the mistake he made is unknown and the available sources, if they mention the episode at all, call it simply "a mistake".(3) Nadīm himself never referred to this incident, except once in a letter written to a friend in which he thus complained of his fate: "There was one time in my life when I did not taste the poison of tribulations, and that was when I worked in al-Qasr al-'Ālī, when Satan gave me the opportunity and I was in the service of royalty..... The world was serving me, and the heights were my companions. But the world turned its oppressive and luckless face to me, and glared at me with vengeful eyes, and envied me the happy order of my life.... I have never seen an uglier fate. It struck me a severe, not a gentle blow."(4) The date of his dismissal cannot be stated with any certainty. There is no doubt, however, that he was still at al-Qasr al-'Ālī in February 1874, when he went to Alexandria on a visit to his family and was stricken by an illness which lasted

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(1) For details about Khalīl Aghā cf. Shafīq, op.cit., vol. i, p.70; Taymūr, op.cit., p.4; Amīn, Zu'amā', pp.208-209.
(2) Taymūr, op.cit., p.4; Amīn, Zu'amā', p.209.
(3) Ibid; Samīr op.cit., p.5; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, vol.ii, p.106.
(4) Sulāfah, vol.i, p.66.

three months.(1) Proof of the fact is a letter he wrote to his friend, Shaykh Ahmad Wahbī in Cairo, in which he deplores the unexpected illness which has parted him from the capital, his friends and his occupation.

Khalīl Aghā's anger meant the anger of the whole country. It is most probable that Nadīm knew that after his dismissal from al-Qasr al-'Ālī nobody else would dare to employ him from fear of incurring the tyrant's displeasure.(2) On the other hand, he seems to have been rather self-conscious about the outrage his dignity had suffered, and would have preferred to disappear from the limelight, until the unfortunate incident fell into oblivion. Therefore he left Cairo, resentful and frustrated, but repressing these feelings patiently, since it was not in his power to retaliate in any way.(3) This was the first personal clash between Nadīm and the oppression of tyranny. "Tyranny was at the time at the zenith of its power, holding its sceptre firmly in its hand, and this hand was of iron. The whole nation groaned under slavery."(4) All Nadīm could do was to give vent to his feelings in letters to his friends, and not even then could he refer to Khalīl Aghā by name, but complained of an anonymous fate.(5)

(1) Sulāfah, pp.39,40.
(2) Amīn , Zu'amā', p.209.
(3) Sulāfah, vol. i, pp. 66,71.
(4) Muhammad 'Abduh as quoted by Ridā, Tārīkh al-'Ustādh, vol. i, p.12.
(5) Sulāfah, vol. i, pp. 66-67.

At first, Nadīm roamed over the country without purpose. He had no means of livelihood, and few assets apart from his literary talents. The only field of activity he could aspire to according to his abilities was to be a teacher or a journalist, but, again, journalism was officially sponsored or reserved for certain writers or unpaid, and a scholastic career fell into the category of government posts for which he had ceased to be eligible.(1) Thus he did what he had done once before, he went on a journey, this time to the Nile Delta, to be the guest of provincial men of letters, to recite his own work to them, and listen to theirs. This journey, however, had a different aspect, insofar as (i) he had grown in experience and his mind was now adult.(2) (ii) The quality of his literary production had greatly improved.

He went at first to al-Mansūrah(3) and contacted the local literary circles. He made two friends there: his choice fell on Aḥmad 'Ālī(4) and Kamāl Muḥammad.(5) His friendship with these two men proved of long duration, for they kept in touch after their separation by visits and letters. After a short stay in al-Mansūrah he continued his travels until he

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(1) Al-Kitāb, vol. 1, p.79.
(2) He was then about 30 years old.
(3) The capital of The Daqahliyyah Province.
(4) He became in 1900 the Chief of the Trade Department of the Royal Palaces, cf. Sulāfah, vol. 1, p.60.
(5) Cf. Ibid.

found himself in a village called Badāwā[1] where he became the guest and constant companion of its 'Umdah, Shaykh Aḥmad Abū Si'dah[2] at whose request he became the teacher of his sons[3] whom he taught the Qur'ān and the elements of religion. His life became more settled, and he even did some farming on land he rented for the purpose in his spare time.[4] That brought him in contact with fellaḥīn, so that he got to know their character, their way of life, their thoughts and morals, and their economic and social position. It goes without saying that Nadīm was not quite happy in Badāwā to which he was tied by his everyday need, for he could not fail to draw comparisons between the ignorant people he mixed with in his new residence and his former well-educated friends, and found his present position very unsatisfactory. The only ray of light that dispelled the gloom was that he genuinely enjoyed teaching. From time to time, when despondency and dejection threatened to get the upper hand, he went to visit his friends in al-Mansūrah, and enjoyed the consolations of literature. This

(1) In the Daqahliyyah Province.

(2) He was a man of property, the owner of 1,000 acres, and had a mansion with a garden, part of which was destined to accomodate guests; cf. Mubārak, op.cit., vol.IX, p.14. He became in 1881 a member of the National Assembly; cf. Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, p.176.

(3) Sulāfah, vol.1, p.61; Taymūr, op.cit. p.4; cf. also Kān wa Yakūn, vol. 1, p.11.

(4) Sulāfah, vol. 1, p.62; Kān wa Yakīn, vol. 1, p.11.

(5) Cf. Sulāfah, vol. 1, p.61.

went on until the strain of the uncongenial way of life in Badāwā began to tell on him. It affected him to the extent that he grew idle and listless; even his mental processes became less alert.

However, his friends in al-Mansūrah did not abandon him to his fate. They continued writing to him, urging him to awake from his laziness, warning him not to neglect his talents. In fact, it was only by corresponding with them that he prevented his literary talent from rusting and his inspiration from running dry in those days.(1) For the information and entertainment of his friends he described the rural life of Badāwā, the character of the fellāhīn and the Ma'dhūn of the village with caustic sarcasm, and one of his letters is a masterpiece of scathing satire in Badī' style.(2)

Within a year of his arrival in Badāwā he quarrelled with his host, the 'Umdah, over the fees for teaching his sons. When the 'Umdah insisted that he had been amply rewarded for his services by the food and lodging he had been provided with, Nadīm felt offended because only serfs, servants and slaves worked in those days for a roof over their heads and a morsel of bread, while the fee paid in money was the privilege of the professional man. Thus it was not out of greed, but out of

(1) Sulāfah, vol. I, pp.61-62.

(2) For the text of the letter cf. Sulāfah, Vol. 1, p.59-63.

self-respect that he claimed thirty pounds(1) as his fee for the year. The altercation became violent,(2) and Nadīm, in his anger, abused the 'Umdah as well as the inhabitants of the village who, greatly incensed, vowed to take revenge on him. But he learnt of this intention beforehand and when they broke into his house at night, he had already fled in disguise and under the cover of darkness.(3) This was the second conflict between Nadīm and a member of the ruling class, and the second time he had been insulted. He must have felt victimised by the tyranny of oppression, and his anger reached boiling point, but here also he was defenceless.

He went to al-Mansūrah in or about 1875 and the comments on Badāwā and its 'Umdah he made there were sarcastic to the point of defamation. They were scorching and emotional in style, for they came from the depth of a wounded heart, and the poems, Saj' and Zajal he recited were pungent and virulent lampoons.(4) These satires circulated, by word of mouth, in all the literary circles of al-Mansūrah and won him local fame. He made the acquaintance of Mahmūd al-Gharqāwī, one of the greatest merchants in al-Mansūrah, who was a lover of literature

(1) Cf. Taymūr, op.cit., p.4; the amount is an indication of the length of his stay in Badāwā, for the fee for tutoring in a government primary school was usually three pounds a month.
(2) Taymūr, op.cit., p.4; Amīn, Zu'amā', p.209.
(3) Samīr, op.cit., p.22.
(4) Amīn, Zu'amā', p.209; 'Aṭiyyat Allāh, op.cit., p.22.

and used to hold literary circles at his house.(1) In order to induce Nadīm to stay in al-Mansūrah, he opened a shop for him in which he was to sell haberdashery and fancy goods. Besides the sale of his goods, Nadīm decided to use the premises for a literary circle of his own. In fact, he had no aptitude for commerce, and his love of literature stifled the wish to succeed as a merchant. His desire to satisfy his literary cravings was paramount, and everything else had to take second place. However, to keep a literary circle going required money, and at the same time diverted his attention from his customers. Literature gained what trade lost, and after a while he found both profits and capital had vanished.(2)

As a merchant, Nadīm was a failure, like most men of letters who resorted to trade in his days. The man of letters usually has an artistic temperament which is incompatible with trade: he is generous and tolerant, and attaches more importance to art than to money. The merchant must be practical and meticulous, and balance carefully his income and expenditure, but the poet prizes his freedom above all and cannot bear constraint of any kind. It is, therefore, small wonder that Nadīm's venture into the field of commerce was an abysmal failure.

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(1) Ibid; Rāf'ī , al-Thawrah, p.531; Taymūr, op.cit., p.4.

(2) Taymūr, op.cit., p.4; Amīn, Zu'amā', p.209; Samīr, op.cit., p.6.

After he had shut down his shop, he reverted to the mode of life of his pre-Cairo days, and travelled around the country. However, he kept a foothold in al-Mansūrah and always returned to the house of Mahmūd al-Gharqāwī. (1) Though until then he had published nothing, and little of his poetry and rhymed prose was committed to writing, his literary production was transmitted orally from town to town all over the area.(2) From the viewpoint of posterity, this way of transmission had the disastrous consequence that little of his work has been preserved, but at the time it helped to spread his renown until it reached Shāhīn Pasha Genj in Tantā in 1293 A.H.(3)(1876).

Shāhīn Pasha was the Inspector General of Lower Egypt,(4) and had a great predilection for literature. It flattered him to be surrounded by men of letters, and he had a literary circle in his mansion.(5) His friend, Shaykh Muhammad al-Jindī(6), had a young favourite, a barber's apprentice, and used to listen to the boy's songs. When he once brought him to sing before Shahīn Pasha, the boy chose a love song composed by Nadīm.

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(1) Taymūr, op.cit., p.4.
(2) 'Aṭiyyat Allāh, op.cit., p.27.
(3) Taymūr, op.cit., p.4.
(4) Born in 1828, he was of Turkish origin, of military rank, and a Minister of War in Ismā'īl's time. Died in Rome, but was buried in Egypt in 1884.
(5) Taymūr, op.cit., p.4; Amīn, Zu'amā', p.211.
(6) An 'Ālim and teacher at al-Jāmi' al-Aḥmadī at Tantā.

Enchanted and delighted, the Pasha burned with curiosity to meet the author, and Nadīm was sent for.(1)

"Shāhīn Pasha's first impression of Nadīm was that he was exceedingly ugly, but that his humour and cleverness made him attractive. The Pasha liked Nadīm from the start, and made him his boon-companion."(2) Nadīm became a prominent figure in Shāhīn Pasha' literary circle which was composed of worthy poets and men of letters with whom he spent memorable nights.(3) "They competed with him and exchanged challenges and carried on many discussions and lively debates on different forms of poetry and prose. In these controversies he was mostly victorious, so that they acknowledged his superiority, though some did it voluntarily and some with reluctance."(4) His was among them the highest position, he was treated by his colleagues and the Pasha himself with great respect, but all that could not make him forget the grievous wrong he had suffered at the hands of Khalīl Aghā and the 'Umdah of Badāwā. Revenge on Khalīl Aghā seemed impossible, even with the support of the influential Shāhīn Pasha, for Khalīl was unassailable, but he could bring his anger to bear on the 'Umdah who had insulted him and withheld what he considered his due. He secured the support of Shāhīn Pasha for his claim for

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(1) Taymūr, op.cit., pp.4-5.
(2) Taymūr, op.cit., p.5.
(3) Ibid; Al-Ustādh, pp.985-986.
(4) Samīr, op.cit., p.5.

thirty pounds. The Turkish Pasha had the 'Umdah brought to Tanṭā where he made him pay not thirty, but a hundred pounds, to which the 'Umdah submitted, glad to save his neck.(1) This incident provides a certain clue to Nadīm's character. He did not forgive and forget readily, but was apt to nurture a grievance. He remembered past injuries and insisted on what he believed to be his right.

While Nadīm was staying in Tanṭā as Shāhīn Pasha's guest, favourite and companion, he travelled around, and attended the Mawlid(2)(festival) of al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī.(3) To the itinerant man of letters, this festival offered a unique occasion for a display of his talents, for he met there fellow-poets, who held literary circles in coffee-houses, in tents set up by followers of different Ṣūfī orders, improvising and reciting poetry, Zajal and rhymed prose and discussing literary matters; he also met there prominent people from everywhere, prospective patrons of his art. Besides, there was the custom that people brought offerings of food in fulfilment of a nadhr (vow) made to the saint, and these votive offerings provided the participants of the festival with a great quantity of free food which attracted to the Mawlid a great number of 'Udabātiyyah (plural of 'Udabātī), and made it particularly easy for them to

(1) Taymūr, op.cit., p.5.
(2) For details about the Mawlid of Egypt cf. Mubārak, op.cit., vol. xiii, pp. 50-51; al-Manār, vol. VIII, pp.1-5.
(3) For details about the saint cf. The Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. 1, pp.192-195; Mubārak, op.cit., vol.xiii, pp.50-51.

hold their popular circles there.

'Udabātī is a term of ridicule for a man of letters, often applied disparagingly or in downright contempt. The 'Udabātī was a poetaster, famous for his voluble tongue, and his facility of improvisation of doggerel rhyme. He begged for money in return for his recital of colloquial or vulgarised verse, always taking his cue from terms used by the interlocutor. Obtrusive in manner, persistent in begging, he never took no for an answer, but took up the very word of refusal and composed popular songs round it, literally compelling the unwilling listener, by unsolicited praise, to reward him for his pains. Clowning, buffoonery, monkey-like grimaces contributed to the success of his efforts, and so did his deliberately funny appearance: the tassel of his turban was outsize and bobbed up and down to the beat of the drum or the tambourine he always carried about.(1) Constant competitions between the itinerant men of letters and the 'Udabātiyyah in improvising and reciting Zajal, Muwashshaḥāt(2) and Mawwāls(3) were a standing feature of the Mawlids, and the public enjoyed listening to these enormously. At the Mawlid of 1293 A.H. (1877) it was Nadīm who was accidentally involved in a competition of this kind. This is how Nadīm himself related the incident: "I was at the Mawlid of al-Sayyid al-Badawī (May God bless him) in 1294 A.H.

(1) Cf. Amīn, Zu'amā', p.211.
(2) See below, pp. 606-607, 608-609.
(3) See below, pp. 609-610.

(1877); with me were al-Sayyid 'Alī abū al-Nasr, al-Shaykh Ramadān Halāwah, al-Sayyid Muhammad Qāsim and al-Shaykh Ahmad abū al-Faraj al-Damanhūrī. We were sitting in Sabbāgh 's coffee-house, watching one Adīb[1] /singular of Udabiyyah/ against the other. We were observing them and exchanging remarks about them, but they sensed we were talking about them and accosted us. They took turns in praising us one after the other, until they finally reached me, one of them addressing me as follows:

"Bestow a piaster on me, O Jindī,[2]
Or present me with clothes, Effendi,
I swear on your dear life,
My food is never rife."

I replied jokingly:

"Cash I do not give,
And if you don't leave,
I've a temper that sears,
And I will box your ears.[3]"

The other Adīb joined in the competition in support of his comrade and we continued improvising Zajal of this kind for about an hour, until they exhausted what they knew by heart.

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(1) Nadīm uses the term "Adīb" instead of 'Udabātī to give the man and thus indirectly himself more prestige.
(2) Jindī i.e. Turk, used in the meaning of "ruler", is best translated by "my lord". It was an honour to be called Jindī.
(3) For the original Arabic text see appendix No. 1, p. 652.

When we arrived at the mansion of Shāhīn Pasha whose guests we all were, al-Sayyid 'Ālī Abū al-Naṣr related the incident to him. The next morning Shāhīn Pasha summoned the chief of the ʾUdabiyyah and told him to bring him the most gifted and expert of the ʾUdabiyyah in his care, promising him 1,000 piastres [i.e. ten pounds] reward each if they defeated me in a contest, or twenty lashes of the whip to each, if they were defeated. The chief of the ʾUdabiyyah accepted the challenge and brought back Shaykh Dāwūd and al-Ḥājj Ismā'īl, the most famous pair of reciters of Zajal for any occasion. He also brought six more who were skilled in memorising and reciting. The Pasha assembled them in front of his mansion in Ṭanṭā and I sat between him and the late Ja'far Pasha Maẓhar(1), and there were so many thousands of people watching that they had to be kept in order by the police.(2)" The contestants were Nadīm on the one hand, and nine ʾUdabāṭiyyah on the other. They opposed Nadīm in turn in different forms of Zajal, which was chosen as the subject of the competition. They competed in Kān wa Kān(3) and panegyric, fakhr (war of wits) and amatory lyrics, and Nadīm replied to each form instantly in the same vein, strictly observing the rhyme and metre of the adversary, until he had defeated them

(1) He was governor of the Sudan between 1866 and 1871. In April 1878 he was appointed Speaker of the Assembly of Notables. Cf. al-Waqa'i' al-Miṣriyyah , 13 October 1871, and Rāfi'ī 'Aṣr Ismā'īl, vol. 1, p.159.

(2) For the rest of the incident and the Zajal recited on the occasion cf. Al-'Ustādh, p.985-995.

(3) See below, p.p. 607-608.

all and continued in a solitary recital on the empty battle-field. "When I finished reciting, both the Pashas and the public clapped their hands in applause. The competition had lasted three hours, and Shaykh Ramadān Halāwah filled five copybooks with the record of the Zajal recited. Shāhīn Pasha reconsidered his original decision, and presented each of them with five pounds instead of the threatened whipping."(1)

The news of the contest spread like wildfire. Cairo and Alexandrian literary circles, not to mention the provincial ones, all resounded with Nadīm's victory.

During his stay in Tanta with Shāhīn Pasha, he also met Tutunju Bey for whom he deputised in the administration of his property.(3) This new occupation gave Nadīm the opportunity to visit Cairo and resume contact with his old mentor Jamāl al-Dīn who was then the centre of feverish activity. He wanted to prevent Egypt from falling into foreign hands as a result of Ismā'īl's misrule owing to which the nation had relapsed into the misery and hardship of servitude. It is no exaggeration, in spite of the outward Europeanisation of the country, to call the reign of Ismā'īl one of the darkest periods of

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(1) Al-Ustādh, p.994.

(2) Cf. Amīn Zu'amā', p.212; 'Aṭiyyat Allāh, op.cit., 28; Samīr, op.cit., p.6.

(3) Taymūr, op.cit., p.15.

(4) Cf. The Earl of Cromer, Modern Egypt (London 1908), vol. 1, pp.18-19.

Egyptian history.

The main defect of the system of Ismā'īl's government was, manifestly, the absolute, unrestricted and limitless power of the head of the state. "The celebrated maxim attributed to Louis XIV has never been more thoroughly carried out in practice than in Egypt under the reign of Ismā'īl Pasha. He, in his own person, was the state. He disposed of the lives and properties of all his subjects. He constituted the sole and final court of appeal in all affairs, great or small. He administered in person every Department of the state. His will was law, his subordinates obeyed his every word implicitly.(1)" It was his policy to oppress his subjects ruthlessly, and to suppress freedom of thought as utterly as he could. On the other hand, he was possessed by the childlike desire to be regarded as a European monarch, on the scale of Napoleon III, and invited European adventurers to whom he gave an entirely free hand, thus making it easy for them to settle in Egypt at the expense of the natives on whom they preyed.(2) He was governed by greed, and he amassed property of every kind. "Flatterers reminded him that, in the days of his grandfather, the whole land had been regarded as the viceroy's personal property and that, moreover, Mohammad 'Alī had claimed and exercised, for some years, a monopoly of its foreign trade. Ismā'īl schemed

(1) Cromer, op.cit., vol. 1, p.56.

(2) Zaydān, Mashāhīr, vol. 1, p.313.

to revive these rights in his own person."(1) In one way or another he got into his hands a large proportion of the arable land of the country. As a consequence of that "the state of Egypt ... was deplorable. Estates, representing about one-fifth of the arable lands of the country, had passed into the hands of the Khedive; and these estates, instead of being farmed out to the dispossessed proprietors, were administered direct by the Khedive, and cultivated to a great extent by forced labour. No single measure contributed more than this to render the existing régime as intolerable to the people of Egypt as it was rapidly becoming to the foreign creditors."(2) Pleasure-loving to excess, he raised loan after loan to satisfy his extravagant tastes; "to say nothing of the enormous sums which he poured out like water on his own private pleasures, his follies of palace building, his follies with European women, and his follies of royal entertainment, there were schemes of ambition vast enough to drain the purse of any treasury."(3) It is true that he spent a fraction of the millions he borrowed on the modernisation of Egypt, but even in that his motives were selfish, for he wanted to be the ruler of a modern kingdom; besides, this modernisation never went deep and merely affected the outward appearance of the country. He lavished enormous

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* (2) Cf. Cromer, op.cit., vol. 1, p.29.

(3) Blunt, Secret, p.18; his palaces numbered more than thirty, and were filled to capacity with expensive Western furniture; one cost 15 million pounds to furnish; cf. Rāfi'ī, 'Asr Ismā'īl, vol. ii, p.53.

* (1) Blunt, Secret, p. 17.

sums on the foreigners who surrounded him, and on his fabulous journeys to Constantinople and the West.(1) His chief agent for contracting loans in Europe was Nūbār, a man who more than anybody else after Ismā'īl himself was responsible for Egypt's financial ruin. Commissioned by the Viceroy to find him money at any cost, he raised it on terms which realised for him hardly 60% of the debt he incurred, while Nūbār himself pocketed as commission several millions of pounds. "Of the 96 millions nominally raised in this way, it has been calculated that only some 54 reached Ismā'īl's hands."(2) To pay the interest on the loans, Ismā'īl raised the tax on the fellah and invented gradually a ridiculous number of new taxes on every Egyptian in the country(3). "Besides the land-tax which was the main resource of the country, a number of petty taxes of the most harassing nature were levied. "I", said Lord Cromer, "gave Lord Vivian a list of thirty-seven of such taxes, and I doubt if the list was complete."(4) Due to his extravagance, the revenue was low, and he raised the land-tax by progressive enhancements from the 40 piastres per acre where he found it, to 160.(5) The

(1) Rāfi'ī, 'Aṣr Ismā'īl, vol.ii, p.55; cf. also The Times, 6.10. 1881.

(2) Blunt, Secret, p.19.

(3) For more details cf. McCoan, J. Carbile, Egypt under Ismail (London,1889), p.81; Rāfi'ī, 'Aṣr Ismā'īl, vol.ii, pp.309-314; Blunt, Secret, pp.18-19.

(4) Cromer, op.cit., vol.i, pp.29-30.

(5) Cf. Rāfī'ī, 'Aṣr Ismā'īl, vol.ii, pp.310-312.

heavy burden of tax reduced the fellah to extreme poverty, for the system of taxes was entirely arbitrary. In fact, taxes were levied when the Viceroy was in need of money. When he wanted money - and there was never a time when he did not want any - he gave an order to the Minister of Finance who transmitted it to the Governors of the provinces and these had to enforce it unquestioningly, regardless of whether the province had acquitted itself of its duties or not. The Ma'mūr (superintendent) divided the amount of money required from his district over the villages. It was finally left to the 'Umdah of the village to levy it from the individual inhabitants.(1) "The evil consequences, which would in any case have resulted from a defective fiscal system, were enhanced by the character of the agents through whose instrumentality the taxes were collected. It can be no matter for surprise that they were corrupt and oppressive, and scarcely, indeed, a matter for just blame; for the treatment, which they had received at the hands of the Government whom they served, was such as to be almost prohibitive of integrity in the performance of official duties."(2)

The Qawwāsīn (tax collectors) set out on their rounds armed with al-'Iddah(3) and al-Kurbādj(4) to whip fellahin who could not

(1) McCoan, op.cit., p.56; Cromer, op.cit./vol. i, pp. 30-32; Rāfi'ī, 'Asr Ismā'īl, vol. ii, pp.309-311.

(2) Cromer, op.cit., vol. i, p.30.

(3) Kind of bastinado.

(4)(A whip made of a rounded thong of hippopotamus hide, about four feet long); Rāfi'ī, 'Asr Ismā'īl, vol.ii, p.312.

pay. They were none of them Egyptians, but Turks, and there were, therefore, no ties of blood or sympathy between them and their victims.(1) When they brought pressure to bear upon the fellah, he had to sell his harvest at bottom price, before it could ripen.(2) Often he had to sell his livestock as well. Increasing numbers of fellahin left their villages and let their land go barren. Many had recourse to usurers, foreigners, particularly Maltese and Greeks, who, under the Capitulations, could demand 120 to 145 per cent(3) interest with impunity. The natives accepted this rate of interest under duress and in fear of the Kurbādj of the Turkish Qawwās who often beat them to death. If the fellah failed to pay the interest, as was only to be expected, he was brought under the Capitulations before the consul of the usurer's country and in consequence robbed of his land, which was given to the usurer.(4) Between the Scylla of the despot Ismā'īl and his tax collectors and the Charybdis of the foreign usurers, the fellah could hardly escape his doom; his lot was truly desperate.

This period of Egyptian history seems to have exercised a strong attraction on contemporary historians of all nations.

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(1) Cf. Muhammad Husayn Haykal, Shaykhsiyyat Misriyyah wa Gharbiyyah (Cairo, 1954), p.39, also Cromer, op.cit., vol.i, pp. 33-35.

(2) Cf. Cromer, op.cit., vol. i, pp.33-34, Rāfi'ī, 'Asr Ismā'īl, vol.ii, pp.312-313.

(3) Rāfi'ī, 'Asr Ismā'īl, vol. ii, p.313.

(4) Great acres of arable Egyptian soil fell thus into foreign hands, cf. Rāfi'ī, 'Asr Ismā'īl, vol.ii, p.313.

The civilised world was swept at that time by movements of liberation, but Egypt remained an island of absolutism in the stormy sea of nascent democracy. Though many schools were opened and European sciences were taught, though the wave of Occidental influence swept the country, her population was groaning in misery, despair and wretched poverty, her ruler was universally regarded as a symbol of tyranny and savage oppression. All historians except those with a personal bias brand Ismā'īl as a hyaena which enjoys devouring its prey. "His [Ismā'īl's] main object is to amass wealth, and for this purpose he sucks the last drop of blood from his people. He seizes on estates whenever he can, and raises corvée after corvée for their cultivation and improvement. Indeed, nearly all the work on his vast domains is thus done, and all his palaces built in this way, by forced labour. And so with all who have interest at Court. Most of the Pashas have their farm and other work done in the same way, and from the Mudīrs [provincial governors] down to the village head-man, similar oppression of the fellahs is everywhere employed, under sanction of the viceregal example."(1)

Referring to the state of Egypt in 1876, Wilfrid Blunt says: "The fellahin at that time were in terrible straits of poverty.

(1) Les Mystères de l'Egypte Dévoilés by Mme. Andouard. She lived many years in the country and knew all classes of the population very well. The book attracted considerable attention at the time. Translation quoted from McCoan, op.cit., p.53.

It was the first of the three last years of the Khedive Ismā'īl's reign; Ismā'īl Ṣaddīq, the notorious Muffatish,(1) was in power; the European landholders were cla mouring for their 'coupons', and famine was at the door of the fellahin. It was rare in those days to see a man in the field with a turban on his head or with more than a shirt on his back.... I can testify that this was the case. The country Sheyks themselves had few of them a cloak to wear. Wherever we went it was the same. The provincial towns on market days were full of women selling their clothes and their silver ornaments to the Greek usurers, because the tax collectors were in their villages, whips in hand. We bought their poor trinkets and listened to their stories and joined them in their maledictions on a government which was laying them bare. We did not as yet understand any more than did the peasants themselves, the financial pressure from Europe which was the true cause of these extreme exactions.(2)"

Sir Alexander Baird had been a frequent visitor to Egypt during the winter months, and was asked by the British Government to write a report about the state of affairs in Egypt in 1878. In the report which he subsequently addressed to the

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(1) The Khedive Ismā'īl's Minister of Finance; for details see Blunt, Secret, pp.39-40.

(2) Blunt, Secret, pp.11-12.

Minister of Finance, he said:- "It is almost incredible the distances travelled by women and children, begging from village to village ... It is not possible to state how many died from actual starvation, but I am satisfied that the excessive mortality during the period of scarcity was caused by dysentery and other diseases brought on by insufficient and unwholesome food. The poor were in some instances reduced to such extremities of hunger that they were driven to satisfy their cravings with the refuse and garbage of the streets."(1) Despite all that "everything was being sacrificed in the attempt to pay the interest and sinking fund on the funded debt."(2) Steps were taken, under French and British pressure, to collect the money for the payment of the "coupon".(3)

The foreign observers whose testimony has been quoted here state the case of the people against oppression clearly enough. Nadīm's account of the horrors and atrocities seen on his travels(4) surpasses theirs in both poignancy and authenticity, because he possessed first hand information which was not easy for them to obtain. In their character as foreigners they obviously lacked access to certain details which the tyrants

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(1) Cromer, op.cit., vol. 1, p.35.
(2) Ibid, p.33.
(3) Ibid, pp.37-38.
(4) Tārīkh Miṣr, p.49.

found it opportune to conceal. This is even true, in a certain sense, of the Egyptian historians. Nadīm had not only access to everything, he was himself part of it, for he had lived, seen, heard and suffered with the fellahin. He had seen, as he writes in his memoirs, "The Ma'moūr entering the village on his tax collecting round, when even the one who paid his duty did not escape his share of the whipping, but the one who could not pay was tied to the whipping post so that the whip tore his skin to the bone. The few who survived were thrown into jail."(1) He had seen "the tax collector and the whips stop a funeral in the street; the Qawwās (chief whip) ordered the corpse that was carried by the mourners to be laid on the ground and to be left there until the deceased man acquitted himself of the tax he owed. All the mourners cursed the Khedive, until at last one of them paid the tax, the paltry sum of six piastres /a shillings and twopence/."(2) During his stay in al-Mansūrah he had seen "a woman whose husband was in jail for non-payment of tax, but had escaped; she was brought before the deputy of the Daqahliyyah province at al-Mansūrah and he ordered her to be given eighty strokes of the Kurbādj on the palms of her hands, before she was questioned about her husband's hiding-place. When she denied any knowledge of it, which was true, she was laid on the ground and given thirty strokes of the Kurbādj across her breast; and when she was

(1) 'Abd Allāh Nadīm, Al-Ṭā'if, (periodical, Cairo 1881-1882), 6.5.1882.

(2) Al-Ṭā'if, 6.5.1882.

questioned again, she swore, suffocating in agony, and her words were choked in her mouth by her dying gasps, that she knew nothing. But the inhuman henchman had her whipped on the womb until she gave up her soul. I asked the tax collector how much her husband owed and he said it was 60 piastres (12 shillings!)."[1] He saw the fellahin being driven away like animals to do slave labour on the Khedive's farms.[2] "I saw thousands of people work in the Dayrah (farms) of the Khedive without respite, while the whip was cutting their skins. When lunchtime came, they ate standing where they had stopped working. They ate stale crusts of bread, and had no break from dawn to dusk when they were driven back to the yard, fenced in by wire, where they slept in the open; in winter, rain poured down on them, and they suffered from exposure to damp and cold. They got up with a start before dawn at the first stroke of the supervisor's whip, to begin a new day of toil and sweat; I saw thousands of natives rounded up from all the provinces to dig the Khaṭaṭbah Canal for the irrigation of the Khedive's farms. At the time, Prince Ḥusayn Pasha[3] was Inspector-General of Lower Egypt. The Qawwās,[4] a herald preceding him on horseback, whip in hand, announced to the people the approach of the prince coming to inspect their work. This was a signal for the

(1) Al-Tā'if, 29.4.1882.
(2) Al-Tā'if, 6.5.1882.
(3) Ismā'īl's son.
(4) lit. bow-maker or consular guard.

supervisors to hurry to the trees for the thick branches they used to strike the workers with, and I heard nothing but screams and groans and cries of pain and loud wailing. Their bodies were hardly visible for mud; it covered them entirely and I could only catch a glimpse of the naked body where its blood mingled with the mud. When the prince reached the place of work and saw the workers falling on the stones, in a state of exhaustion, and drown in the mud, beaten by the supervisors, he said to the Mudīr "Afrin, Afrin!!' 'Bravo, bravo!!' At least thirty workers died before he left, I lost count. But that was not enough: on his way back, a child, 8 or 9 years old, was standing by the roadside to see the procession. One of the grooms seized him by the scruff of the neck and threw him into the water, where he disappeared and drowned within a minute. The prince smiled at the groom approvingly, enjoying the groans and the dismal sight of agony and death, true son of Ismā'īl that he was...."(1) During his travels through the country Nadīm "saw many sights of this kind in the provinces of Gharbiyyah, Buḥayrah and Munūfiyyah, not only on the Khedive's /own/ farms but also on those of his courtiers from his servants to his ministers. The country was a huge jail and the Egyptians were sentenced to penal servitude for life, and their only crime was that they were not Turks but Egyptians. If one could ride through the air and take a bird's eye view of the country

(1) Al-Tā'if, 6.5.1882.

below, and could watch the people and listen to them, one would find the whole nation writhing in burning pain on the scorching embers of torture. /One would see/ the heights of fumbling and confusion in the haphazard movements of worms with no order or purpose, and would hear the groans and the lament of the tortured; sights and sounds which would move to pity any human soul, but could they move Ismā'īl and his courtiers and his Turkish retinue!!!!(1)"

Such were the sights Nadīm saw everywhere on his tours of the country. He was profoundly shocked and dismayed by the distressing scenes he witnessed. They were to remain engraved in his memory for ever, and immense bitterness surged in him, finally to overflow in a dramatic outburst. The calamities which had overtaken the country in consequence of the disastrous economic policy of the government had shaken the emotional attitude of the people. The very sovereignty of the country was in danger. The foreign loans contracted in European countries proved to be the thin end of the wedge: they gave European governments the opportunity to interfere in the internal affairs of Egypt, an opportunity which they had coveted for a long time. The Khedivial decree, issued on May 2, 1876, instituting a Commission of the Public Debt with European Commissioners to act as representatives of the bondholders,(2)

(1) Al-Tā'if, 29.4.1882.

(2) For details about the Commission cf. Cromer, op.cit., vol.i, p.12 and vol.ii, pp.304-310; Rāfi'ī, 'Asr Ismā'īl, vol.ii, pp.69-71; M. Mustafā, Tārīkh Misr, pp.198-199; Blunt, Secret, pp.14, 21.

was a virtual acknowledgment of foreign claims to control the internal economy of the country. The Anglo-French Condominium, imposed on Egypt in 1876, was another step in its economic enslavement. A British Controller-General was appointed to supervise its revenue, and a French one to keep check on its expenditure.(1) They were joined in January 1878 by the Commission of Inquiry with the right of inquiring into every single item of the budget.(2) This constituted a government within the government, and was a plain infringement of the sovereignty of the country. On August 28, 1878, the Khedive authorised the Armenian Nūbār Pasha to form the first Egyptian cabinet and appointed, under pressure, two European ministers: an Englishman, Sir Rivers Wilson, became Minister of Finance, and M. de Blignières Minister of Public Works.(3) The Egyptians were mere acquiescing puppets,(4) while the foreigners pulled the strings. England and France divided the spoils between them. This was a great shock to the country. It provoked wrathful indignation, voiced in increasingly loud grumbling and murmurs.(5)

The glaring contrast between the high-salaried European

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(1) Rāfi'ī , 'Asr Ismā'īl, vol.ii, p.90.
(2) For details cf. Cromer, op.cit., vol.i, pp.45-63; Theodore Rothstein, Egypt's Ruin (London 1910) pp.54-60.
(3) Cf. Cromer, op.cit., vol.i, pp.64-81; Rothstein, op.cit., pp.66-73.
(4) Rāfi'ī , 'Asr Ismā'īl, vol.ii, p.90.
(5) Rafi'i, 'Asr Ismā'īl, vol.ii, p.146.

employee and the underpaid, overworked Egyptian official, with the constant threat of dismissal hanging over him, formed a frequent topic of conversation among the Egyptian civil servants. "The higher officials", wrote the Cairo correspondent of The Times,[1] "are chiefly foreigners, and high salaries seem necessary to soothe their home yearnings and compensate for the pain of expatriation. International jealousies have thrust two or even three and four men where one is able to do the work... Experiments in government have left costly functionaries on the hand of Egypt who do nothing but draw their pay". Also his Alexandria colleague wrote: "Satirical visitors find amusement in counting the number of disestablished European officials whose salaries count by thousands of pounds, while hundreds of native state servants cannot get their few pounds a month due for the last year or more for good service actually rendered".[2] Thus a multiplicity of factors: European interference in the Egyptian affairs, the subservience of the native ministers to all the demands of European governments, the heavy burden of irregular and illegal taxation imposed by the government as well as by the Anglo-French Contrds, the inhuman methods of tax collection[3], the economic problems which had

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(1) The Times, 23.1.1879.

(2) Ibid, 25.12.1878.

(3) Mustafā (Ahmad 'Abd al-Rahīm) The Domestic and Foreign Affairs of Egypt from 1876 to 1882. Ph.D.(1955) London University, p.92; cf. also Cromer, op.cit., vol. 1, p.34.

become nearly insoluble, the precarious situation of the Egyptian civil servant and, last but not least, the fact that the country was tottering on the very brink of disaster, combined to bring things to a head. This provided Jamāl al-Dīn with the long-desired opportunity to propagate and spread his political doctrine.

Jamāl al-Dīn realised that Egypt would soon irrevocably fall into the clutches of European usurers, if the economic policy of the Khedive was allowed to continue along the same lines; he also realised that it was impossible to save the country from the impending catastrophe without a radical change of its internal conditions. His first tactical step on the way to reform was to conjure up before the eyes of his disciples the exciting prospects of unity,(1) and to transform his literary circles into a political party.(2) He was conscious of the potential value of the press and platform speaking in creating a climate of thought and conveying political slogans, and availed himself with alacrity of the literary talents of his followers. He helped Ya'qūb Ṣanwa' to found the short lived Abū Naddārah and after its suspension for its political activity he helped Adīb Isḥāq to found the weekly Miṣr in 1877 and the daily al-Tijārah in 1878. The idea was to raise the issues at stake and inflame and fan the anger of the country.

(1) Ridā , Tārīkh al-'Ustādh, vol. i, p.40.

(2) Ibid, p.38.

However, Jamāl al-Dīn alone, perhaps because of his unique position of near-invulnerability, was bold enough to speak the truth about the essentially evil character of the Oriental rulers. In fact, anyone who wanted to speak frankly needed tremendous courage since Ismā'īl admitted of no opposition to his dictatorship. He allowed and even encouraged the denunciation of the interference of foreigners in the internal affairs of Egypt, but every word of criticism directed at himself was mercilessly followed by atrocious reprisals, exile to the Upper Sudan or imprisonment for life, which virtually amounted to a death sentence. The most lenient was to be banished from the country like Ya'qūb Ṣanwā', editor of Abū Naddārah.(1)

It was Jamāl al-Dīn's historical rôle to turn the meek and the cowed into roaring lions. In his speeches and lectures, which Nadīm attended, he inspired his disciples with courage, inflaming their righteous wrath, giving them confidence in their own strength. Jamāl al-Dīn poured oil on to the fire by his ideas, his lectures, his articles, his speeches. The nation had been a dormant volcano; the least spark of fire was bound to cause an eruption. Tempestuous days lay ahead. Towards the end of 1878, Jamāl al-Dīn realised that time was ripe for a quick and decisive move, and instructed his disciples to intensify their propaganda through the medium of the press and from platforms throughout the country. Nadīm was to go to Alexandria, where his task was to popularise the new ideas on reform.

(1) Amīn, Zu'amā', pp.66, 68, 69; for details cf. Ibrāhīm 'Abduh, al-Ṣaḥafī al-Thā'ir, (Cairo, 1955), pp.35-52.

CHAPTER II

BEGINNINGS OF PUBLIC LIFE.

1879-1881.

Nadīm, The Educational, Political and Social Reformer.

Until the end of 1878, Nadīm seems to have taken no active part in the public life of his country. " I spent that time " says Nadīm " reflecting about the ways of the rulers which were hateful to the nation, and recording in my memoirs many of their wicked acts, and many atrocities I witnessed on my travels."(1) If he appears too self-centred, too wrapped up in himself in this first contemplative period of his development, it must be borne in mind that his life was none too easy, that he had so many adversities to face and so many hardships to overcome that everything else had to yield priority to the simple problem of survival, to the urgent immediacy of everyday needs and to his less urgent perhaps, but irresistible literary yearnings. What is more, he was going through his formative period, when his sensitive artistic nature registered, like a camera obscura, every detail of the life and world around him, absorbing and

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(1) Tārīkh Miṣr. P.49.

storing, in his conscious and subconscious mind, sounds and sights for future use. He recorded in his mind every impression and experience: the gentle rustling of the leaves in the trees as well as the roaring of the storm, the groans of the oppressed, the tears of the wronged and humiliated, the agony of the tortured. He saw and heard, observed and listened, and missed nothing. He had not emerged from inactivity yet, but the seed was sown, it took time to germinate, it was now about to sprout.

When, readily responding to Jamāl al-Dīn's instructions he returned to Alexandria early in 1879 to join forces with Adīb Isḥāq and Salīm al-Naqqāsh in propagating their mentors doctrine and ideas,(1) his entire outlook was completely revolutionised. Now a man of thirty-three, he had gained experience and developed understanding far in advance and in excess of his intellectual brethren, for he had met, in his crowded and eventful past, rich and poor, rulers and fellahin, intellectuals and ignorant men alike, had been dazzled by the lavish prodigality of the ruling class and moved to pity by the wretched misery of the destitute. As a student, a merchant, a disciple of Jamāl al-Dīn, a civil servant, a peasant, a teacher, a traveller, an observer and actor in the game of life,(2)

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(1) Cf. Riḍā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh, Vol.i, P.46.

(2) Kān wa Yakūn, Vol. i, P.11.

Nadīm had gleaned vast first-hand experience which was bound to prove of colossal value in his subsequent literary, social and political activities.

He had left Alexandria a promising and exuberant youth of seventeen, he came back mature in body and mind. He found the tone of the literary circles of Alexandria also changed beyond recognition. Whereas, before he left, they had been mainly concerned with literary pursuits, they now resounded with political talk. Egypt had fallen into foreign hands, and her plight was very much on everyone's mind. Literary controversies had been replaced by secret political discussions whose pivotal point was the future deliverance of the country and its present suffering. The few intellectuals who gathered in these circles were dissatisfied with the existing order of things and conscious of the fact that it was imperative to capitalise their education, their literary skill, their fervent patriotism in the service of the country.

Outside the literary circles, Nadīm listened to the whispered hatred of Ismā'īl[1] and to subdued demands for general reform and the introduction of constitutional government. Young men were forming secret societies, whose aim was to overthrow Ismā'īls tyranny, abolish anarchy, disorder and

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(1) Cf. Taymūr, op.cit., P.16; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, Vol. ii, P.107

corruption, eliminate foreign interference in Egypt and raise the low moral standards of the people. When Nadīm renewed old contacts with loyal friends whose patriotism could not be doubted, he found that most of them were members of an underground movement called Miṣr al-Fatah[1] (Young Egypt). His two faithful friends, Muḥammad Amīn[2] and Maḥmūd Wāṣif[3], were deputy chairman of the society and its secretary respectively.[4] They introduced Nadīm to the society, and he also became a member.[5] But Nadīm's membership of the underground movement was short

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(1) Miṣr al-Fatāh was an underground movement consisting of hot-headed young revolutionaries, many of whom were educated and Jews. It followed the pattern of the Young Turkish movement. It has been said that Jamāl al-Dīn, Adīb Isḥaq and Salīm al-Naqqāsh were among its members. More details Cf. Riḍā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh, op.cit., Vol.i, P,P. 75, 163; Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah, (Cairo 1937) Vol.iv, P.77.

(2) Became later chief clerk of Asyūṭ National Tribunal, Cf. Zaydān, Mashāhīr, Vol.ii,P.107.

(3) Became later editor of the daily paper al-'Adl (Justice), Cf. Ibid.

(4) Cf. Zaydān, Mashāhīr, Vol. ii, P.107; Samīr, op.cit.,P.6.

(5) Ibid; Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol. iv, P.77.

lived. It can be said that to burrow like a mole in secrecy and in the dark was out of keeping with his character which, apart from being open and above board, was also affable, easily accessible, somewhat ostentatious[1] and full of craving for more response and popularity than he could expect to find in an underground movement. He may also have been motivated by the fact that the days of the secret society, which was threatened with complete extinction by Ismā'īl, were obviously numbered.[2] Thirdly, secret societies are usually limited in their membership to a certain type of people considered as most suitable, which was against Nadīm's principles who wanted to transmit his ideas on reform not to a chosen élite, but to the masses. He therefore, did his best to induce his friends and fellow-members to follow his example and exchange Miṣr al-Fatāh for a frank and open daylight pursuit of social reform,[3] but so deeply rooted was the fear of Ismā'īl and his reprisals in the hearts of the people that they were at first, reluctant to respond to his call. " Whenever I try to rouse a wise man he silences me, and if I insist he rebukes me, and then I find myself disapproving of the inertia of the people

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(1). Cf. Samīr, op. cit. P.4.

(2) Cf. Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb. Vol. iv, P.77.

(3) Samīr, op. cit., P.6, Zaydān, Mashāhīr, vol.ii, P.107.

weighed down by the heavy load ⟨lit. mountain⟩ of oppression.[1] But Nadīm was neither easily discouraged nor prone to despair, and soon realised that the best way to save the country from ruin and to awaken the nation from the lethargy was to weld and consolidate the vast masses of the Egyptian population, particularly the poor, into a monolithic block, a united body of public opinion, which was bound to become a powerful weapon in the fight against oppression.

His opportunity came when Adīb Isḥaq[2] invited him to join the editorial staff of his two newspapers, Miṣr[3] and al-Tijārah.[4] Nadīm willingly accepted what was an opportune fulfilment of his own innermost wishes. Now he not only could address a wide forum of readers, but could also speak his own mind without any fear of conflict with the responsible editors, for

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(1) Tārīkh Miṣr, P.49.

(2) Born in Damascus 1856, came to Egypt in 1875 and founded with the help of Jamāl al-Dīn, the newspapers Miṣr and al-Tijārah. Died in 1885.

(3) Weekly founded in 1877 in Cairo and transferred to Alexandria in 1878.

(4) Daily, founded in June, 1878 in Alexandria.

he as well as Adīb Isḥāq and Salīm al-Naqqāsh saw eye to eye on every issue of importance. In short, the national policy of the two newspapers was his own policy.(1)

It is surely no coincidence that there was a remarkable and quite unmistakable rise in the popularity and reputation of the two papers when Nadīm joined forces with their owners and editors. Nadīm's talents and proclivities had always pointed in that direction, he had always longed to be a journalist and felt frustrated for want of an opportunity to develop his ideas before a wide public. Now, at last, he was to be given the chance to follow his bent; two important newspapers had thrown open their doors to him.

In journalism, he found both a congenial medium of expression for his social and political creed and a potent weapon in the fight for the realisation of his ideals.(2) He also popularised a new kind of prose,(3) no longer handicapped by the rules of the heavily ornamented Badī' style, employed by the traditional scholastic group of writers, which prevailed in the first period of his life. He renounced to the play of words indulged in by the traditional scholastic group of

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(1) Cf. Tārīkh Miṣr, P.54.

(2) Cf. Miṣr, 18.4.1879; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, Vol.ii, PP.107,108; Samīr, op.cit., P.6. Tārīkh Miṣr, P.54.

(3) Cf. Taymūr, op.cit, p.p,16,17; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, Vol.ii, P.108 Samīr, op.cit., P. 9.

writers to which he formerly belonged in favour of a straightforward lucid style which, adopted by the moderately modern school of writers, was characterised by the unhampered, easy flow of thought.

The editors, Adīb Isḥaq̄ and Salīm al-Naqq̄ash, quickly realised the esteem and admiration of the reading public for Nadīm; the increase of circulation was eloquent enough. They were not long in placing most of the burden of the editors' duties on Nadīm's shoulders.(1) They even took advantage of his love of literature and his passionate urge to write both for the sake of writing and for the sake of his mission to such an extent that they withheld his fees and published most of his articles anonymously. The ulterior motive behind that was quite unequivocal: it was self-evident that they wanted the public to regard them as the authors of these inordinately popular articles. Thus they derived profit from his work morally as well as materially.(2) But so urgent was his wish to commit to paper thoughts and ideas he had repressed for so many years that his contributions continued uninterrupted, though other people took the credit. Even though he was allowed to sign only a fraction of the articles he published,(3)

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(1) Tārīkh Miṣr, P.54.

(2) Samīr, op.cit., P.6; Amīn, Zu'amā', P.215.

(3) More over, it has been said that they put their own names to some of his articles. Cf. Samīr, op.cit., P.6.

their eloquence and grace of style soon drew attention to his person as well as to his ideas.(1) His popularity grew not only among the readers, but also among his fellow-writers who imitated his style which was more in harmony with their ideas and a more effective expression of thoughts and vital experience than the rigid artificiality and inadequacy of Badī'(2) styles.

His successful debut in the field of journalism goes parallel with another, equally significant, success in the field of politics: he finally managed to convince his two intimate friends, the above mentioned Muḥammad Amīn and Maḥmūd Wāṣif, to leave Miṣr al-Fatāh and form, with a few others, a new, overt society.(3) In propagating the new society he encountered, among the general public, a great deal of reluctance and well-founded fear that any oppositional political activity would provoke cruel reprisals on the part of Ismā'īl.(4) Thus he found it necessary to avoid explicit

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(1) Taymūr, op.cit., P.P. 16-17; Amīn, Zu'amā', P.P.214-215; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, Vol. ii, P.108; Samīr, op.cit., P.P.9,20.

(2) Taymūr, op.cit., P.P. 16-17; Samīr, op.cit., P.P.9,20.

(3) Zaydān, Mashāhīr, Vol, ii, P.107; Samīr, op.cit., P.P.6-7

(4) Ibid; Tārīkh Miṣr, P.49.

reference to its real task of political liberation in the programme he proclaimed, and even announced that the society he was planning would be non-political, and its aims perfectly lawful and legitimate.(1) It was to be confined to social and educational purposes and include any pursuit likely to benefit the nation. Initially, only a very small number of warm hearted, generous, modest citizens of Alexandria responded to his call. The press propagated the new society founded by Nadīm and published the minutes of its sessions. The society was founded at the memorable meeting of 18th, April, 1879(2) which was attended by eleven founder members.(3) At this meeting, Nadīm asked Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nabhānī to give the opening speech which stressed the need for philanthropic relief work in face of the penury and destitution of the bulk of the country's citizens. But when Nadīm took

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(1) Tārīkh Miṣr. P.49.

(2) Cf. al-Tijārah, 19.4.1879.

(3) Muḥammad Amīn, Maḥmūd Wāṣif, Ḥasan Manṣūr, Dr. Ḥasan Sirrī, Muḥammad Shukrī (Assistant of the police of Alexandria Governorate), 'Alī Ḍayf, Ḥasan al-Miṣrī, 'Abd al-Majīd 'Umar Shuwayṭir, Amīn al-Kayyāl and Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn - al-Nabhanī, cf. Zaydān, Tārīkh. 'Ādāb, Vol.iv, 80; al-Tijārah, 19.4.1879; Tārīkh Miṣr. P.49.

his turn, he enlarged on the programme and the aims of the new society in detail, urging the members to throw off the robe of indifference to the affairs of the nation and to make an all-out effort to spread education in the country. In their discussions they agreed on certain points:
1.- To refrain from electing a president, presumably in the hope that some prominent official might be induced to accept this representative position which would both protect the movement and encourage the timorous as a proof that it was safe to join. 2.- To elect Nadīm deputy chairman. 3.- To make the membership as well as the benefits of the society available to every citizen in the country. Most of the members wanted the society to be purely Islamic, organised on the same line as the foreign Christian societies, which, at that time, were accessible to Christians only,(1) but Nadīm convinced them of the necessity of stressing the unity of the Nation and Muslim tolerance. 4.- To name it as suggested by Nadīm, and agreed upon by all the participants of this first session, Al-Jam'iyyah al Khayriyyah al-Islāmiyyah (Islamic

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(1) The number of European mission schools in Egypt was 70. Under the Capitulations, Egyptian students who attended mission schools enjoyed certain privileges, this led to a differentiation between Egyptians. These students often became the agents of the foreign Countries. Rāfi'ī, 'Aṣr Ismā'īl, vol. 1. P.P. 215-6.

Benevolent Society). However, the name is by no means indicative of its real character, since it was not to be exclusively Islamic, and the stress put on the welfare part of it was deliberately misleading, intended to divert attention from Nadīm's political aims out of concern for the safety of its members. 5.- Having given the new society a name which would enable it to weather the first dangers of its life, Nadīm obtained the consent of the founders to certain objectives which were statutorily laid down. The members pledged themselves to strive with united forces to found schools for both sexes regardless of race, creed or social class, where tuition to orphans and the children of the poor was to be available free of charge and against a moderate fee to those whose parents could afford to pay; to assist the needy with regular contributions to their upkeep; to provide medical treatment for the sick, and bury those who had no relatives to attend to their funeral; to take care of the widows and orphans of the members of the Jamʿiyyah. The society itself was declared a private one and could be joined only on previous application. The membership fee was fixed at twenty piastres for ordinary members[1]; the monthly contribution amounted to ten piastres per member[2]. The founder members also agreed, as Nadīm

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(1) The founder members had also to cover the whole of the expenditure.

(2) Al-Tijārah, 19.4.1879.

proposed, to assemble at night in order to " discuss educational and religious problems, to improve their knowledge of the subjects likely to excite patriotic ardour in their hearts, and to augment their love of the nation and the country (1) ". " There is no doubt that these efforts and endeavours were dictated by the sincere and overpowering desire to effect a reform of the social and political conditions, despite that, the outward appearance of the society was philanthropic, educational and literary (2) ".

Thus Nadīm finally prevailed over inveterate weakness, timidity, faintheartedness and reached his goal after countless difficulties and almost unbearably heavy toil at a time " when tyranny and oppression were at their heyday, when all hearts were quivering with fear and all thoughts confused and all tongues dumb and everyone was confined within the narrow seclusion of his own shell, living in ceaseless terror and suspense, in constant dread of losing his property or his freedom of movement and aware that his agony would only end with the end of his life. (3) "

Nadīm's aim in founding the Jam'iyyah is believed to

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(1) Al-Tijārah 19.4.1879.

(2) Cf. Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol. iv, P.80. Rāfi'ī, 'Aṣr - Ismā'īl, Vol. i, P.259.

(3) Samīr, op.cit., P.7.

have been twofold. In the first place, it was to fight ignorance and superstition which were rife among the people and were, to a great extent, responsible for the actual disastrous position of the country. The proposed reform was planned to benefit vast masses of the population, especially the younger generation through the foundation of schools. Besides and in addition to the usual rudiments of knowledge, he desired to teach the children the literature of their language and the history of their country; so that they should grow up, not dishonoured and debased by subservience to oppression, but well coached in the principles of nationalism, proud of their origin, filled with patriotic zeal to serve Egypt and conscious of their duty towards her.(1)

The idea of free education of non-traditional type was not new in itself. Most state schools in Egypt provided free education at the time, but it was education of the conservative type, and reserved for the children of the privileged, high ranking officials, mostly Turks or Circassians,(2) unless they were needed for the army or civil service. The new feature of the schools founded by Nadīm

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(1) Cf. al-Tijārah, 19.4.1879; Miṣr, 13, 20, 27 June, 1879; Amīn, Zu'amā' P.214, Samīr, op.cit., p.7; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, Vol. ii, P.108.

(2) 'Aṭiyyat Allāh, op.cit., P.P.31-32.

was that they gave an equal chance to everybody. As to the educational programme they were to follow, it was both original and specifically national.(1) Nadīm had devised and planned it entirely on his own, with special consideration for the Arabic language and literature, history and elocution. Most characteristic is the special stress placed on the moral ethical and spiritual side of national education, for it was from the rise and spread of a new, morally sound, intellectually enlightened and well informed outlook on life that he expected the salvation of the country.(2)

The second of Nadīm's two objectives in founding the society was the creation of a body of public opinion recruited, not merely from the intellectual circles, but from the nation at large, by means of periodical meetings, which were to give public speakers the chance to address a large audience on social, religious and educational matters.(3) Nadīm was convinced that as soon as public opinion was enlightened, it would be able successfully to oppose oppression

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(1) Cf. Miṣr. 13, 20, 27, June, 1879.

(2) Cf. ... 'Aṭiyyat Allāh, op.cit. P.31; ... Amīn, Zu'amā', P.214; al-Kitāb, Vol. 4, P.81; Samīr, op.cit., P.7. Zaydān, Mashāhīr, vol. ii, P.108.

(3) Cf. al-Tijārāh, 19.4.1879.

and demand national rights. In Nadīm's own words, the underlying principle was to provide the stimulus: " The call was to stimulate public opinion and to awaken desperate thoughts which would lead the nation to freedom ".(1) For this purpose, he wanted to call into existence, all over the country, branches of the society and meeting places where orators would have the chance to propagate its ideas.(2)

In his desire to pursue both these objectives simultaneously, Nadīm developed an intense propaganda in the already existing circles and clubs of Alexandria. The whole elaborate programme had existed up to now in theory; now it had to be transferred from the world of thought into reality. The first step was to be the foundation of schools. However, at this crucial moment the Jam'iyyah itself was in danger of collapse. The members, all belonging to the middle class of society and totalling a mere twenty-one at the time, had contributed all they could, but the capital subscribed hardly sufficed to cover the cost of desks and slates. Nadīm's strongwilled, dynamic personality overcame this obstacle by going on a canvassing round of the rich citizens of Alexandria, whom he successfully persuaded to contribute to the funds of the society.(3)

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(1) Tārīkh Miṣr. P.55.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Al-Tankīt wa al-Tabkīt 17.7.1881, P.P. 92-93 and 95

June 8, 1879 the inauguration of the first school sponsored by the Islamic society, was a cardinal date in both Nadīm's own life and the history of Egyptian education. The ceremony was announced by the papers and attended by a party of high-ranking army officers, 'Ulamā' and prominent citizens of Alexandria.(1) In his opening speech, Nadīm defined the outlines of his educational programme. " The school ", he said,(2) " will be accessible to all and sundry. It will teach the children brotherhood in patriotism, and rear them in the love of mankind". He proceeded to an explanation of the reasons for, and the character of, the meetings he was planning. " They will be coloured by the blood of patriotic zeal, and put an end to the inertia of the nation. They will be like the intoxicating liquor which one drinks to produce elation, nay, like a sword girded to give strength in battle... this meeting will be historic, it will move the souls of the Arabs and rouse the zeal of the Orient; the inclination of the individual will be happy in the benefit of mankind and the interests of the nation. The body has many limbs but only one soul, there are nerves in plenty but only one nervous system, the mind has

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(1) Al-Tijārah, 10.6.1879; Miṣr. 13.6.1879.

(2) From the opening speech as published in Miṣr, 13, 20, 27, June, 1879.

different thoughts but a single tongue to express them ". He also denounced pride of class and religious fanaticism.

This speech made Nadīm the first Egyptian[1] openly to take up a stand against oppression at a public meeting.[2] After the speech, the audience divided into two groups: one, manifestly apprehensive of the possible consequences of its boldness, and critical of Nadīm who dared to interfere with matters which were considered taboo, exposing himself and his audience to considerable jeopardy; the other hailed him as a magician who would cure the disease of the hearts, sharpen the minds and rouse the thoughts from their lethargic sleep.[3]

The speech made headlines and front page news in the Alexandria press. It was so unusual that it was quoted verbatim; not a single word was omitted.[4] Nadīm's intrepidity became the talk of the town; the public plainly desired to hear more about patriotism and liberation.

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(1) As Nadīm himself admits the stress on the word "Egyptian" is his acknowledgment of the rôle of Jamāl al-Dīn before him. Jamāl, however, was not an Egyptian; Cf. Tārīkh, Miṣr, P.P. 49, 52.

(2) Tārīkh Miṣr, P.49.

(3) Account given by Miṣr, 13.6.1879; Cf. also Tārīkh Miṣr, P.49 and Al-Tankīt 17.7.1881, P.94.

(4) Cf. Miṣr, 13,20, 27.6.1879; al-Tijārah, 10.6.1879.

A number of new members was attracted by Nadīm's speech, and the funds of the society increased.[1] However, great names and rich people were conspicuous by their absence, at least officially, for fear of Ismā'īl's reprisals; they had too much to lose. The enthusiasts belonged without exception to the middle classes.[2]

Nadīm's dream had come true. He had brought a society into existence which set up ambulances, surgeries and dispensaries where the needy sick received free treatment,[3] and he founded a school which opened its gates to all the poor children.who came hurrying to the fountain of knowledge. One hundred and sixty pupils came on the first day;[4] within three months the number had increased to two hundred and ninety, eighty of whom were orphans. The society took complete charge of them, providing education, books and clothes.[5]

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(1) Al-Tankīt, 17.7.1881. P.92.

(2) Such as Muṣṭafā al-Manzalāwī, Muḥammad Badrān, Chief Clerk of the Port Said dockyard, and others, cf. al-Tijārah, 17.6.1879.

(3) Dr. Ḥasan Sirrī volunteered to take charge of medical side cf, al-Tijārah, 10.6.1879.

(4) Al-Tijārah, 19.6.1879.

(5) Ibid, 22.9.1879.

Subsequently, the number of pupils reached the total of four-hundred and eighty, including two hundred and three orphaned or destitute children.(1) Nadīm worked, thought and contrived. A deeply dedicated man, he " exerted himself like the poor widow who had a number of children and no income, and toiled to support them, staying up late and burning the midnight oil".(2) He literally worked his fingers to the bone to promote his enterprise and " bore, in opening the school and keeping it alive, a heavier burden than the commander of an army in conquering a beleaguered city."(3)

He was appointed by the society director of the school which was modelled on the pattern of the Frères Schools, with the difference that special stress was placed on Arabic language, national history and education.(4) He engaged good Arabic and foreign teachers. He himself undertook to teach composition, elocution and literary subjects.(5) He made it his

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(1) Al-Tankīt, 17.7.1881, P.92.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Cf. Samīr, op.cit., P.P. 7, 8; al-Tijārah 4.6.1879.
(5) Cf. Samīr, op.cit. P.7; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, Vol. ii, P.108; Al-Tankīt, 18.9.1880, P.229; he appointed ʿAbd Allāh Furayj the head of the foreign language teachers and chose his friend, Aḥmad Samīr, to supervise all the branches of Arabic language study; cf. Samīr, op.cit., P.23; Al-Tankīt, P. 229; al-Maḥrūsah, 7.2.1880.

special endeavour, in his teaching of the Arabic Sciences, to revise the methods commonly in use, which, at that time, were greatly at fault. Even when teaching, he never lost sight of the objects of reform. The general purpose of the stress on Arabic subjects was to bring into being a new generation among the people of Egypt which would revive the Arabic language as the symbol of Islam and a means of reviving Arabism and awakening national consciousness. It is significant that he proposed education as one of the means to a better state of things in the future. The news of the outstanding merits of the new school soon spread among the educated classes of the population. It was the first privately sponsored Egyptian school of its kind with a constructive programme, based on national patriotic principles, free from class prejudice and, though it had been founded by a purely Islamic society, free from religious fanaticism. Religious tolerance was in itself an entirely new feature in Egyptian private education. The schools run by Coptic private societies were limited, at the time, to Coptic children only, and the mission schools founded by Europeans primarily aimed at making converts to Christianity.(1)

The school literally became one of the sights of the town, attracting a number of visitors among the prominent

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(1) Cf. Rāfi'ī, ʿAṣr Ismāʿīl, Vol. i, P.P. 215, 216.

people of the country, especially non-Muslims, who were interested in education. When signing the visitor's book, M. Paul Ricquot, the director of the Tawfīqiyyah schools, made the following entry: " The aim of the school is to promote humanity and enhance the love between students of different religion and social class."(1)

When the reputation of the school began to spread, the intermittent trickle of contributions to the Jam'iyyah became a steady flow, so that the size and number of classes could be increased. The board of directors decided to grant Nadīm a monthly remuneration of twenty ventis (= £16.13. 4d.) in recognition of the fact that he devoted all his time to the school, but Nadīm asserts that he did not accept it because he did not consider it right to derive material profit from social work. He merely accepted six ventis (= £5.)(2) a month as a refund of the expenses he had to incur for entertaining visitors, but they were subsequently increased to ten, when the school gained in size and income, and the number of visitors grew with it.(3)

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(1) Cf. al-Tijārah, 19.6.1879.

(2) The word ventis was used in Alexandria at that time. It was a corruption of the word twenty and meant the French coin Napoleon, which was worth 20 golden francs.

(3) Al-Tankīt, 17.7.1881. P.92.

True to his ideal of religious tolerance, and desirous of launching an educational movement on a national scale, he did not limit his activities to one denomination. He therefore invited the heads of the Coptic community in Alexandria and convinced them of the necessity of their forming a society on the lines of the Jam'iyyah for the propagation of education and national unity. The immediate result of this conference was the formation of the Coptic society which founded its own school on 10. 8.1879.(1) When the inauguration of the Coptic school took place in the presence of prominent citizens, including the heads of military and civil services, Nadīm addressed the meeting, thanking them on behalf of the Jam'iyyah. Pointing to the similarity of the objectives of the two societies, the Muslim and the Coptic, he urged them both to unite in the struggle for the common cause. Subsequently, the Copts invited Nadīm to deliver a speech whenever they held a party or a meeting, and always welcomed him with open arms, for, as Nadīm said, though of different creed, they were all brothers in the eyes of Egypt.(2)

While Nadīm was thus planning, working and teaching in

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(1) Al-Tijārah, 11. 8.1879 and 16.9.1879.

(2) Ibid; Tārīkh Miṣr, P.51. Cf. also al-Mahrūsah, 28.4.1880.

Alexandria, England and France hammered the last nail into the lid of Ismā'īls coffin. The financial affairs of the country, as has already been stated, had been rapidly sinking into the condition of helpless bankruptcy which led to European intervention and, finally, to the deposition of Ismā'īl Pasha, the Khedive, whose inconsiderate and extravagant efforts to Europeanise the country had ended so disastrously. He was succeeded, on June 26, 1879, by his son, "Tawfīq Pasha,...who came to power as a young reformer of whom great things were expected by the liberal elements which, by this time, under the inspiring leadership of Jamāl /al-Dīn/ had acquired an influence to be reckoned with. Tawfīq Pasha, it seems, had given assurances to Jamal and his group before he came to the throne that, when he had attained power, he would aid their efforts at reform."(1) It is true that before the deposition of Ismā'īl, "Mohammed Tawfīq, had come under Jemal-ed-dīn's potent influence, and through him was in close communication with the Reformers, and had given them repeated pledges that, if ever he came to the Khedivial throne, he would govern on strictly constitutional lines".(2) Tawfīq's accession was therefore greeted by Jamāl al-Dīn and the reformers as a stroke of good fortune and they looked forward to the new régime with the confident expectation of men who

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(1) Cf. Adams, op.cit., P.7.

(2) Blunt, Secret, P.125.

had at last obtained a lever to their wishes.(1) The new Khedive, however, like many other heirs apparent, when he had succeeded to power, was not long in changing his opinion, and a month had hardly elapsed before he had forgotten his promises and betrayed his friends. Perhaps mostly because Tawfīq's character was one of extreme weakness. " As a ruler his was too negative a character not to be a danger to those who had to deal with him. His first impulse was always to conceal the truth and to place upon others the blame of any failure that might have occurred by his fault... It has been said of him that he was never sincere, and that no one ever trusted him who was not betrayed".(2)

Jamāl al-Dīn and his party began to press for the fulfilment of his earlier promises, especially for the formation of a representative assembly which was the keystone of all future reform. However, promises are notoriously easier to make before the assumption of office than to fulfil afterwards. On the other hand, "the foreign powers brought pressure to bear upon the young Khedive in the difficult situation in which he found himself, and opposed, in their representation to him, any change in favour of a popular form

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(1) Cf. Miṣr, 27.6.1879; al-Naqqāsh, Miṣr Lilmiṣriyyīn, Cairo 1884, vol. iv, P.10. Taymūr, op.cit., P.16.

(2) Blunt, Secret, P.P. 126-127; cf. also John Nine[illegible], Nineteenth Century, London 1883, Vol. 13,P.P. 130,131. Rothstein, op.cit.,P.P.125,126.

of government".[1] Eventually, Tawfīq found himself placed between two forces with opposite ends in view: the force of his reforming friends, urging him to fulfil his constitutional promises, and the force of the consulates forbidding him to part with any of his power - a power they intended ~~him~~ to exercise in his name themselves. He consented first to his Minister Sharīf's suggestion that he should issue a decree granting a constitution and then, at the instance of the Consuls, refused to sign it.[2] This led, in August 1879, to Sharīf's resignation, and his replacement by the nominee of the Consulates, Riyāḍ Pasha. Also, the young Khedive may have found it easier and more expedient, in September, 1879, to get rid of the troublesome leader of the reform movement, Jamāl al-Dīn, than to fulfil his promises.[3]

Early in his career, Sharīf Pasha is regarded, in the history of modern Egypt, as the symbol of constitutional government, in contrast to Riyāḍ Pasha, who is represented as the very embodiment of absolutism.[4] The latter's manner of

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(1) Riḍā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh, Vol, i, P.P. 75,76, Cf. also P.P. 163,164.

(2) Cf. Riḍā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh, Vol, 1, P.P. 163,164.

(3) Cf. Ibid, vol. i, P.165; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, vol., ii, P.61. another explanation has been advanced for this unexpected action of Tawfīq that the British Government suspicious of the political activities of Jamāl al-Dīn brought pressure to bear upon the Khedive and induced him to rid the country of the dangerous agitator. Cf. Adams, op.cit., P.8.

(4) Cf. Amīn, Zu'amā', P.P. 222,223.

government was a reversion to the iron rule of Ismā'īl, with secret police, arbitrary arrests and banishment as the most convenient means of removing troublesome idealists. The full authority of the foreigners was restituted with his return to office. He was entirely under the thumb of the Europeans.(1)

However, reminiscent of Ismā'īl's ways as it was, Riyāḍ's despotic rule never quite equalled the degree of oppression of Ismā'īl's time. This was due to the emergence of that new factor in public life, enlightened public opinion, which, though it could be temporarily fettered, could neither be suppressed nor silenced.(2) Moreover, Riyāḍ followed in Ismā'īl's footsteps in that he allowed the press a certain freedom to write about reform, with the tacit condition that neither must political reform be mentioned nor the absolute method of government be alluded to. To restrain the more intrepid among the writers there was a strong deterrent in the fate of Adīb Isḥāq who had been banished from the country for his criticism of Riyāḍ and his methods.(3)

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(1) Amīn, Zu'amā', pp. 222-223.

(2) Cf. John Ninet, Nineteenth Century, 1883, vol. 13, p.p. 130,131.

(3) In November, 1879.

With the expulsion of Jamāl al-Dīn, the ecstatic elation of the reformers at Tawfīq's accession subsided. All the hopes they had cherished, all the dreams of constitutional government and national independence, had been grievously disappointed. The first round of the campaign for national reform had ended almost in defeat.

Nadīm was now left alone on the deserted battlefield, for the intellectual movement had lost its spiritual leader, Jamāl al-Dīn. Another loss to the movement was the defection to the government party several months later, Muḥammad 'Abduh who tried to justify his action by defending Riyāḍ's ideas in the official journal, al-Waqā'i'al-Miṣriyyah.(1) His theory was that Egypt was not yet ripe for constitutional government, but needed a just dictator, until the middle classes were educated enough to take over.(2)

Thus, left alone to carry the banner of reform, Nadīm saw that the realisation of his second objective - second only in mention, not in importance-was the most urgent need of the movement.(3) Heedless of the defeatist and alarmist

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(1) As whose editor he was appointed by Riyāḍ, cf., Riḍā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh, vol., i, P.P. 137,138.

(2) Cf. Riḍā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh, vol., i, P.P. 146-147, 185-188 Amīn, Zu'amā', P.P. 202-206

(3) See above, PP. 102-103.

warnings around him, undeterred by the threat of severe penalties, he notified the public, by inserts in the press, of the opening of Mahfil al-Khaṭābah (The Rhetoric Assembly) and of regular assemblies to be held in the courtyard of the Jam'iyyah school every Thursday night, and invited public speakers to address the audience and take part in the ensuing debate.(1) The first assembly took place on August 22, 1879. On this and all subsequent occasions, the courtyard of the Jam'iyyah overflowed with the tremendous influx of the public which, more often than not, numbered over 500 persons.(2) The speeches delivered by Nadīm and his fellow-orators proved the main attraction. From Nadīm, people heard what they had never heard before from any Egyptian speaker.(3) He stressed the advantages of the foundation of societies for the promotion of national education, of meetings for the exchange of information and opinions, of the need to form the habit of co-operation, of the potential rôle of literary circles and a political and educational press in creating public opinion

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(1) Al-Tijārah, 23, August, 1879, cf. also Al-[illegible],

(2) Cf. Al-Tijārah, 23, August, 6,15,23, September, 16,18,30, 31, October, 4, November, 1879; al-Maḥrūsah, 16 and 17, January, 7, February and 17, March, 1880.

(3) Cf. Al-Tankīt, 17.7.1881, P.92; Tārīkh Miṣr, P.49; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, vol. ii, P.108; Samīr, op.cit., P.8.

and fanning the flame of patriotism.[1] His speeches kept the audience in a state of excitement. In faint hearts he kindled the flame of patriotic zeal and fired in quiescent souls the ardour of freedom.[2] He spoke to them about the East and the causes of its present decline and about the West and the reasons for its progress.[3] In addition to his own oratorical efforts, he prepared speeches for his students on the unity of the nation, the need for co-operation and the innate dignity of the human being.[4]

On his invitation, the students of the Coptic Society participated in these activities on equal terms. Their speeches formed an additional attraction for the Coptic community to attend the meetings.[5] Nadīm, however, remained the undisputed official speaker of the Maḥfil. Every other speaker had to submit to him, in advance, a draft of his speech for approval, or was, at least, obliged to inform him orally on what lines he was going to speak if he intended to improvise.[6] The reason was that the situation had, again

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(1) Al-Tijārah, 23.8.1879.
(2) Ibid., 6.9.1879.
(3) Ibid., 15.9.1879.
(4) Cf. al-Tijārah, 6,15,23 September, 18, October and 4, November, 1879; al-Maḥrūsah, 17, January, 7, February, 1880.
(5) Al-Tijārah, 18.10.1879.
(6) Al-Tijārah, 1.10.1879. The orators who alternated with him in addressing the public were Aḥmad Samīr, Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī, Aḥmad al-'Awām and some others; Cf, Zaydān, Tārīkh Ādāb, vol. iv, p. 80. Samir, op. cit., p. 7.

become extremely difficult and required all the tact and discretion Nadīm could muster. Realising that, he quite justifiably preferred not to antagonise those in power if he could help it. Thus allusions to the proscribed topics were to be avoided except in a veiled, symbolic form, by parable and figure of speech. So completely did he capture the hearts of his public that they used to await the next speech with impatience.(1) Nadīm's oratorical feats and his progressive ideas became the talk of the town and the circles,(2) the newspapers gave detailed accounts of the meetings, reporting Nadīm's speeches; they were lavish with praise, hailing him as the outstanding "Orator of the East", the magic of whose eloquence gripped hearts and entranced souls,(3) and the faithful servant of mankind, to whom they ascribed the resurrection of national consciousness.(4) The meetings over which he presided were described by the term Sūq 'Ukāẓ(5), or compared with the literary salons of Paris.(6) Even poems were recited in praise of his feats and oratorical

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1. Cf. Al-Tijārah, 30.10.1879.
2. Zaydān, Mashāhīr, Vol. 2, p.108, Samīr, op.cit., p.7.
3. Al-Maḥrūsah, 17th January and 7th February, 1880.
4. Ibid., 7.2.1880.
5. The yearly festival and tournament of poets in Pre-Islamic Arabia for details about it cf. Reynold A. Nicholson, A Literary History of the Arabs (London 1953) pp.101-102.
6. Al-Tijārah, 23rd August, 1879.

powers. His speeches were the magnet attracting people to the society and the influx of new members increased.[1]

If, in the first months, the educated middle classes of society had predominated almost exclusively among Nadīm's public, the fame of these meetings began attracting the hitherto reluctant upper class. Many prominent people, some of whom held important positions in the country, began to flock in.[2] At the end of October 1879 he delivered a speech of considerable merits, entitled "The Kingdom of Animals and Men," in which animals were shown in positions characteristic of and facing situations peculiar to human beings. This enabled him to describe the internal hierarchy of the nation, the Caliph and the Khedive and his ministers, the despotism of the rulers and the weakness and fear of the oppressed in the form of an animal satire. However, both in the speech itself and in its subsequent publication in the press, he gave a subtle hint to the public, suggesting that there was a double meaning in every sentence of the fable "for everyone to know how many things are hidden from the nation".[3]

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1. For the names of the new comers cf. al-Tijārah, 9.9.1879; Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Adāb, Vol. IV, p.80.
2. Cf. Zaydān, Mashāhīr, Vol. II, p.107; For the names of the new comers cf. al-Tijārah 4.11.1879 and al-Mahrūsah, 17.3.1880.
3. Miṣr, 31.10.1879

It was his wish that the school should participate in the actual life of the nation. For this purpose he called into being a Rhetoric Society, composed of students of the Islamic as well as the Coptic Societies,[1] trained them in oratory[2] and made them take part in the assemblies. It was the first society of that kind in Egypt[3]. His objective in so doing was twofold: "to train his students in style, oratory and debate, but also to inspire them with patriotic zeal and to enable them, when they grew up, to do what the nation needed without shyness, weakness or fear. It was by no means a light or easy task to uproot the laziness, cowardice and fear that years of oppression had implanted in their souls. Even the best among them was afraid so much as to harbour thoughts or reform even in the privacy of his own bedroom, terrified lest the phantom of fear should spy his thoughts and denounce him".[4]

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1. Al-Tijārah, 18.10.1879.
2. Many of them became distinguished orators, and later occupied important positions, e.g. Muṣṭafā Māhir Pasha, Ahmad Fathī Zaghlūl Pasha, Wāṣif Sumaykah Pasha and Murgus Nabīh. Cf. al Tijārah 18.10.1879 and 4.11.1879; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, Vol.II. p.108; al-Tankīt, 10.7.1881, p.75; Amīn, Zu'amā', p.228; Adams, op.cit., p.213;
3. Jam'iyyat Riwāq al-Shawām (The Syrian Porch Society) was actually founded in 1873 i.e. before Nadīm's society, but had a totally different character in that it was private, restricted to Syrian students in al-Azhar and assembled only when one of its members finished his studies and was preparing to leave for home: then his fellow-students celebrated the occasion by delivering speeches of farewell. Cf. Zaydān, Tārīkh Ādāb, Vol. 4 p.79.
4. Samīr, op. cit., p.8.

With the same end in view, he founded an "Amateur Dramatic Society" for his students, in which his ideas were to be propagated through the medium of the theatre;[1] he also wanted his students to become familiar with this branch of art which was relatively new in Egypt. It was also the first non-professional dramatic society in the country.[2] Nadīm was the producer and stage manager of the plays in which he acted alongside his students; he was also the playwright of the society. He wrote a play entitled Al-Waṭan wa Tāli' al-Tawfīq,[3] a subtly veiled satire of the social and political conditions in the country. He must have feared that excess of criticism might spell trouble, for he inserted, towards the end of the play, some praise of Tawfīq and his ministers as the prospective saviours of the nation.[4] The performance took place on the stage of the school before an audience which included a number of high-ranking Egyptians, and was reviewed, in terms of the highest praise, by the next morning's press.[5] Another play, under the title Al-'Arab, harking back in nostalgic yearning

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1. Cf. Tārīkh Miṣr, p.50.
2. Cf. Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol.IV, p.87.
3. Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol.IV, p.80; Amīn, Zu'amā', p.215; Samīr op.cit., p.8. Tārīkh Miṣr, p.50; Taymūr, op.cit., pp.16-17.
4. Cf. al-Mahrūsah 1, 5 and 7.4.1880; Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol IV, p.80; Tārīkh Miṣr, p.50; Taymūr, op.cit., pp.16-17.
5. Al-Mahrūsah, 5, 7.4.1880.

to the Golden Age of the Arabs, was intended as an incitement to imitate the glorious past.(1)

Apart from these two societies which consisted of the students of the Jam'iyyah and the Coptic Society, he founded on April 22nd, 1880, a third, called Jam'iyyat al-Funūn wa al-'Ādāb, (Art and Literary Society). Also composed of students, its aim was to teach them how to deal with certain problems and to take on the responsibility for an allotted task; to reward the best and assist the poorest among them, and finally to build a stage to be used for the performance of plays and as a rostrum for public speaking. Besides, the society was also intended to act as a students' union for the protection of their rights, and was as such open to any student from any town or school, and of any creed.(2) It was also the first society of its kind in Egypt. At the opening ceremony, the students themselves elected a representative committee for the administration of the new Society.(3) The speech he delivered on this occasion "was in the Iqtibās (epigraph) from the Qur'ān, and as admirable a display of erudition and eloquence as the one he gave at the opening

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1. Samīr, opcit.,p.8; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, Vol.II,p.108; Taymūr, op.cit.,pp.16,17.
2. Al-Mahrūsah, 23.4.1880
3. The Chairman of the society, who also was the best student of the school, Ahmad Munīb, invited many prominent people among them the governor of Alexandria, to attend the opening celebrations. Hasan Midhat, ten years old, declared the society open, other students followed suit, delivering speeches and engaging in debates. Cf. al-Mahrūsah,23.4.1880.

ceremony of the Jam'iyyah".[1]

Though he was driving himself very hard to fulfil his duties as tutor and supervisor of the pupils, and the very soul of their societies, director and teacher at the school, speaker at the weekly assembly, playwright, producer and stage manager, he still continued, now and then, to contribute to newspapers. It even seems that the more overworked he was, the more he committed himself. After Adīb Isḥāq had been condemned to exile in November 1879 and his two newspapers Miṣr and al-Tijārah confiscated by the government,[2] Salīm al-Naqqāsh succeeded in obtaining permission to found two new ones, the daily al-Maḥrūsah[3] and the weekly al-'Aṣr al-Jadīd.[4] However, Salīm al-Naqqāsh was unable to cope with the work their publication involved for reasons of health[5] and "consulted with me" said Nadīm "and made me promise him to write the two newspapers... I gave them my heart and was compelled to write them with my pen and filled them with my words, but did not sign what I wrote for fear of Riyāḍ".[6]

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1. Ibid.
2. Confiscated on 22.11.1879 Cf. Riḍā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh, Vol.I, pp.38, 186; Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, pp.68,69; al-Waṭan, 22.11.1879; Tārīkh Miṣr, p.53.
3. The first issue appeared 5.1.1880.
4. " " " " 8.1.1880.
5. Cf. al-'Asr al-Jadīd, 1.9.1881.
6. Tārīkh Miṣr, p.54; Cf. also Samīr, op.cit., p.9; al-Kitāb, Vol. 4, p. p.82; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, Vol.II, pp.108-109.

It was that fear that made him have recourse to dissimilation. The banishment of Adīb Isḥāq and the collapse of his two newspapers had been a salutory lesson. It had taught him to be cautious and not to interfere openly with political affairs. It did not prevent him, however, from broaching these subjects indirectly, as he was doing in his plays and in his speeches at the above mentioned assemblies; he even camouflaged his veiled criticism by following it up with praise of the Khedive and his ministers. That is how effectively protected himself, his societies, and the two newspapers.

The subject matter he mainly dealt with was ethics which he represented as the foundation of the progress of nations under the title Al-Istiqāmah[1] "Rectitude" and Ḥilyat al-Insān al-Adab[2] "Manners Makyth Man". Besides, he called on the nation, in the already familiar manner, for more and more constructive work. He enlarged on the advantage of founding societies; he explained, over and over again, the degree of benefit the nation was certain to derive from consequent, systematic co-operation for the good of the community. He

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1. Al-Mahrūsah, 5.1.1880
2. Ibid, 9.1.1880.

also stressed the efficacity of speakers' assemblies in rousing public spirit in launching the suggestive slogan 'Ushdud Yadaka bi Yadi Akhīka Tanjah[1] "Link Hands, All Ye Brothers, to Succeed", denounced pride of race and bigotry under the title Sāḥib al-Ḥiqd Mamqūt[2] "Men of Ill Will Are an Abomination", drew comparisons between East and West under the title Hum Wa Naḥnu[3] "They and We". He defended the Coptic Benevolent Society, when it was threatened by internal rift, warning and exhorting its members not "to let the seed of discord be sown among them, but to remain united and do their duty by the community and the whole nation"; this article was published under the title Qawluka al-Ḥaqa Yahdī Wa Yadull[4] "Be Truthful to Lead and Guide". The titles of his articles in themselves exercised a tremendous attraction on the readers.

His attitude towards the Khedive was complex and not unequivocal. On one occasion he was quite cynical in comparing the dark days of the past and its oppression with the justice and democracy of the enlightened present, as if he were mocking and ridiculing the régime, for there was no

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1. Al-Maḥrūsah, 27.1.1880.
2. Ibid, 28.1.1880.
3. Ibid, 15.3.1880.
4. Ibid, 28.4.1880.

actual difference between the tyranny of Riyāḍ and that of Ismā'īl.[1] It is most probable that it was Nadīm's desire to win over the Khedive to his side, and gain support for his own constructive reform programme. Therefore he blessed Tawfīq in his speeches and articles, congratulating the ministers who enjoyed his confidence.[2] "I approached the Khedive as he should be approached, with what he likes, that is, kindness and courtesy".[3] The Khedive must have been pleased with Nadīm's attitude, for when the latter requested the Khedive to honour the school with his visit, Tawfīq accepted willingly. He chose for his visit the day of the annual examinations,[4] and asked the students questions in person. He was pleased with their answers and the way the school was organised and conducted, and Nadīm profited by the gracious mood of the Khedive by requesting him to honour the school by placing it under the patronage of the Crown Prince, 'Abbās, whose visit he also requested. The Khedive granted the request, and made a generous donation to the school, presenting it with the disused building of

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1. For details of the oppression under Riyāḍ cf. Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, p.68; Ibrāhīm 'Abduh, al-Ṣaḥafī al-Thā'ir, (Cairo 1955)p.96; "The Times" 6.10.1881.
2. Al-Tijārah,9.9.1879.
3. Tārīkh Misr, p.50.
4. The visit took place in July 1880.

the Sailors' school.[1] This freed the society from the burden of rent for its premises, and gave it more classrooms for the increasing number of students and simultaneously more elbow space on the occasion of its weekly assemblies, as the spacious courtyard could hold a much larger audience. In October 1880 the Crown Prince 'Abbās and his brother, Prince Muḥammad 'Alī, also visited the school, and were received with due solemnity. There was a touch of magnificence about the occasion. The students lined up in the courtyard, and the best among them walked up to the princes and delivered addresses of welcome. There were brief speeches in prose and poetry, twenty-eight in all, most of which had been composed by their teacher Nadīm. The account of the visit and the speeches of welcome in the Egyptian press carried the fame of the school to every corner of the country.[2] The Jam'iyyah also gained in authority, because it now enjoyed the sympathy and support of the Khedive.

It is not easy to assess the degree of sincerity of Tawfīq's interest in the ideas of the society. He had been a sympathiser of reformist ideas in the not so far distant

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1. Cf. Samīr, op.cit.,pp.7,8. Taymūr, op.cit. p.16; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, pp.107-108; Al-Tankīt, 17.7.1881. pp.94-95.
2. Cf. al-'Aṣr al-Jadīd, 17.10.1880, Samīr, op.cit.,pp.7-8;

past, and the society may really have found favour in his eyes; on the other hand, he may have been trying to win back the affections of the people after the initial shock he had given them by shattering their hopes of constitutional rule. He may also have wanted to secure the voice of the speakers by taking them under his wing, for they were likely to praise him out of gratitude. When it became generally known that the Islamic Society, its school, and their projected branches were sponsored by the Khedive, it was bound to have great propaganda value. Thus the Khedive himself called upon eminent people to join the society in its educational and social activities and some did respond to his call.(1) At the Khedive's own request, Nadīm was preparing to open a new branch of the Islamic Society in Cairo and delegated Muḥammad Bey Zakī, the Master of Ceremonies at the Royal Palace, as his deputy there.(2) This choice of representative throws a special light on the direction in which the Khedive wished the society to develop. It is plain that he wanted it to be surrounded by the aura of royalty, and inspired by the Palace itself; the enterprise,

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1. Mutawallī Maḥmūd and Ḥasan 'Abd Allah responded to his call and expressed, in a petition to the Khedive, their determination to found a branch of the Jam'iyyah school at Kūm al-Shuqāfah in Alexandria; the Khedive wrote to the Minister for Internal Affairs and the Minister of Education to grant them official assistance, cf. al-Waqā'i', 3.10.1880.
2. Tārīkh Miṣr, p.50.

however, failed to materialise. Jealousy of Nadīm's success brought from Cairo Muḥammad Bey Muqbil who joined al-Jam'iyyah not so much to serve it as to learn all he could about it. He attached himself to Nadīm whose inseparable companion he became. In long and frequent discussions with him, he acquired exhaustive information on the society's principles and pattern of work; when he found that he had been well enough briefed and had obtained copies of the statutes, he went back to Cairo where he founded, in September 1880, a new society,[1] which was in every detail a copy of Nadīm's Jam'iyyah, except perhaps for Nadīm's fresh original approach and candour of outlook which could not be imitated. The only practical difference between the Maqāṣid society and the Jam'iyyah was that membership of the former was more or less reserved for the higher classes of society and top ranking civil servants.[2] The projected Cairo branch of Nadīm's Jam'iyyah thus became redundant.

It goes without saying that Nadīm disapproved of the way in which Muḥammad Muqbil had capitalised on a popular trend and duplicated Nadīm's creation;[3] however, it does

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1. It was called Jam'iyyat at Maqāsid al-Khayriyyah; cf. Tārīkh Misr, p.50; al-Waqā'i'. 19.10.1880.
2. It was headed by Maḥmūd Pasha Sāmī al-Bārūdī who was then Minister of the Waqf, Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh was later appointed its official orator. Cf. Tārīkh Misr, p.50; al-Waqā'i', 15.2.1882
3. Tārīkh Misr, p.50.

him credit that he overcame the natural resentment of the other's disloyalty and gave Jam'iyyat al-Maqāṣid al-Khayriyyah all the support he could for the good of the common cause.(1)

Relying on the assent and support of the Khedive, Nadīm concentrated more than ever on the foundation of societies on the model of the Jam'iyyah. He called on the nation to revive former societies which had closed down, such as Jam'iyyat al-Ma'ārif Wa Ṭab'al-Kutub (The Society for Education and Publication).(2) Once Nadīm had come forward with the initiative, people joined in crowds,(3) and communities vied with each other in the foundation of societies of one kind or the other, like the "Civil Service Cooperative Society of Alexandria"(4) and the "Catholic Benevolent Society". Nadīm launched the new societies, welcomed them in the press and supported them with every means at his disposal.(5) He also urged the people to found more and more of them, firmly believing that this would lead to a revival of public opinion.

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1. Al-'Aṣr al-Jadīd, 14.10.1880. Cf. also al-Waqā'i', 21.9.1881. and 15.2.1882.
2. Al-'Aṣr al-Jadīd; The Society had been founded by Muhammad 'Ārif Pasha in 1868, for details Cf. Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol.IV p.78.
3. Tārīkh Miṣr, p.51 and see below P.133.
4. Al-Mahrūsah, 6.2.1880.
5. Ibid., 6, 2 and 14.10.1880, Tārīkh Miṣr, p.51

However, the consent and authority of the Khedive proved insufficient. This was due to the protracted though hidden animosity between Tawfīq and Riyāḍ. It must not be forgotten that it was Riyāḍ the Prime Minister who was the real dictator, so firmly did he hold the reins of government in his iron grip.(1) There was only one conceivable conclusion: Nadīm's campaign would never become wholly effective, unless his powers of persuasion were strong enough to win over the all-powerful Riyāḍ to his side. "Fame had spread widely but to no avail, for most people were cowards, and those in high positions wrong and unjust; thus I had to be wily and gain their support by luring their minister into my camp. When I had a meeting with Riyāḍ Pasha at the European Hotel in Alexandria, I laid before him the achievements [i.e. the avowed objectives] of the Society and he admired them and praised and thanked me. He lent a hand and joined the society as a founder member with the annual contribution of twenty-five pounds. I kept expressing my gratitude in the newspapers with the result that people, high and low, flocked around me, so that the assemblies were overcrowded. When I submitted to him [Riyāḍ] the statutes of the Society,(2)

1. Cf. "The Times", 6.10.1881.
2. There were 24 articles statutorily laid down. Cf. al-Waqā'i', 19.10.1880.

he confirmed them and had themregistered and published in the official journal and other newspapers.(1) I also submitted to him an estimate of the subsidy required for the school from the Ministry of Education which he approved. He stipulated that the school should receive 250 pounds a year. Thus the innate cowardice of the people was dispelled and their fears removed, for the Society had now become [almost] a branch of the government".(2)

It was now explicitly stated in the registered statutes of the Society that Riyāḍ had become one of the sixty founder members of the Jam'iyyah, that it was the first society of its kindin Egypt, and that its name was changed to Al-Jam'iyyah al Khayriyyah al-Miṣriyyah (Egyptian Benevolent Society). It also became general knowledge that the Crown Prince 'Abbās was its patron and the Governor of Alexandria his honorary deputy, but it was statutorily laid down that Nadīm, its founder, was his actual deputy in charge of the society with all its branches and affiliations.(3)

At last the labour of years seemed to be bearing fruit, but in Nadīm's eyes it was only just beginning. Never,

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1. Al-Waqā'i', 19.10.1880; al 'Aṣr al-Jadīd, 18.10.1880.
2. Tārīkh Miṣr, pp.51, 52; Cf. also Kān Wa Yakūn, Vol. I, pp.71-72.
3. Al-Waqā'i', 19.10.1880; al-'Aṣr al-Jadīd, 18.10.1880.

while he planned and toiled, had he lost sight of those who lived in the dark, in ignorance, poverty and slavery, the fellahin. He always thought of himself as one of them, a common man; his scale of human values required him to be loyal, first and foremost, to the interests of the poor. His success would have seemed to him of little account, unless they shared the benefits. He longed to awaken them from their long sleep, to sow the seeds of education among their children. This deep-rooted loyalty sent him again roaming the countryside, addressing the people in their mosques and meeting places, stressing the need for unity and co-operation between the different sects, calling on them to link hands in the common pursuit of education. He also took the initiative in promoting various domestic industries. Societies modelled on the Jam'iyyah sprang up everywhere: at Damanhūr, Mīt Ghamr, Damietta, al Manṣūrah(1) and Shabrākhīt.(2) He declared them open himself, and personally gave every opening address on behalf of the Central Office of the Jam'iyyah in Alexandria.(3)

His star rose still higher when he staged a new performance of his play Al-Waṭan with his team of pupils

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1. Tārīkh Miṣr, p.51; Cf. Al-Tankīt, p.95
2. Al-'Aṣr al-Jadīd, 14.10.1880.
3. Tārīkh Miṣr, p.51.

on the biggest stage of Alexandria, Zizīnyā, before the Khedive and high-ranking persons. The tickets were sold as soon as they were issued, and the performance, a huge success, impressed the Khedive to such a degree that he donated one hundred pounds to the society.(1) Its impact on the community can hardly be overrated: its hidden message opened their eyes, and roused their thoughts to an acute awareness of the plight of the nation, winning for Nadīm their constant admiration and praise.(2) Though ending on a hopeful note with the expression of great expectations of reform by Tawfīq and his ministers, the play pointed unmistakably to the source of all evil. "It was a bitter attack on the policy of the government which was the very embodiment of despotism, arbitrary rule and intimidation".(3) The dialogue of the play was a transparent veil cast over the great sorrow over Egypt's decline and the state of the nation.(4) The attack was directed against the misrule and the defects of the system and against the interference of foreigners in Egypt's affairs.(5)

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1. A. Samīr, op.cit., pp.8,9; Taymūr, op.cit., pp.16,17; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, Vol. II, p.108; Tārīkh Misr, pp.50-51.
2. Cf. Taymūr, op.cit., p.17; Tārīkh Miṣr, p.50; Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol. IV, p.80.
3. Tārīkh Miṣr, p.50.
4. Cf. Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol. IV, p.80.
5. Tārīkh Miṣr, p.50.

Gradually, the political significance of these veiled hints, which were a constant feature of his speeches and articles, became manifest to everyone. People understood what he had in mind, even if it was proffered in a symbolic form, "though pretending to deal with literature and social reform, the speeches were interspersed with whatever was bound to alert the minds of the nation".(1)

Simultaneously with Nadīm's campaign, spectacular changes took place in Cairo with a rapidity which was faster than thought. Everybody's spirits rose at the stirrings of revolution which had begun within the army, and it was to the army that they attached all their hopes. It is necessary to point out here certain facts which led to and brought about these radical changes. In point of fact, the key to the situation lies, first and foremost, in the character of the men in power which lent a specific colour to the absolute system of government they were trying to keep in force at all costs. Tawfīq, who pretended to sympathise with the reformists, as has already been stated, had a curiously twisted personality. He had never learnt how to face up to difficult situations; neither had he ever learnt the courage to speak the truth to men.(2)

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1. Tārīkh Misr, p.55.
2. For details of Tawfīq's character, cf. Edward Dicey, The Nineteenth Century, Vol. 31, 1892, pp.233-242; Blunt, Secret., pp.126-7; Rothstein, op.cit., p.126.

"However, he was not placed on the throne to rule: Riyāḍ, the minister given him by the foreign powers, exercised all the power in his name, but he himself was a cipher in the state".(1) The régime was becoming daily more intolerable to patriotic men. "It was well known that Riyāḍ, during his term of office, which lasted two years, worked in co-operation with, and under the advice of the two Controllers who were always behind the scenes".(2) The oppression of Riyāḍ was not directed against a particular class, community or sect, but every Egyptian high or low had suffered from it to a greater or lesser extent. No one escaped oppression except Turks or Riyāḍ's agents.(3) Riyāḍ's rule, however, increased the vehemence of public anger and resentment especially that of two of its sectors, the upper class of Turkish extraction who had lost their influence under Riyāḍ's régime on one hand, and the true nationalists on the other and gave cohesion to the diverse elements of which the opposition was composed. This public anger became the main and most decisive factor in the formation of the National Party.(4) Though the members of the new Party

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1. John Ninet, The Nineteenth Century, Vol. 13, 1883 pp.130,131.
2. Muṣṭafā, Ph.D. op.cit., p.254; Cf. The Times, 6.10.1881.
3. Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, p.66.
4. For details and names of founders, Cf. Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, pp.70-71; John Ninet, The Nineteenth Century, 1883. Vol.13, pp. 128-131.

differed widely in their objectives, for some saw in it merely the means of attaining power for themselves, some wanted to recover their lost influence in the provinces, and some truly and faithfully longed to serve their country, they were all united in the common desire to get rid of Riyāḍ and his overlords, the two European Controllers, and to enforce the fulfilment of Tawfīq's earlier promise of constitutional government. The country was tense with excitement, ready for a revolution, only waiting for a leader and a signal to start.(1)

An occasion soon showed itself for action which the army was not slow to seize. Aḥmad 'Urābī, the commander of the fourth regiment, and his fellow-officers of fellah origin, drew up a protest asking for a reform of the army, for justice and equality between the officers of fellah and Circassian origin and finally the dismissal of the obnoxious 'Uthmān Rifqī, the minister of war, who was an extreme representative of the Turkish class which for centuries had looked upon Egypt as their property and on the fellahin as their slaves and servants. His attitude towards the fellah officers was therefore, from the first,

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1. Cf. Muṣṭafā, Ph.D., op.cit., p.257; Ibrāhīm 'Abduh, Tatawwur al-Ṣaḥāfah al-Miṣriyyah, (Cairo 1945), pp.109-110; J. Ninet, The Nineteenth Century, 1883, Vol.13, pp.128-151.

a hostile one, and it was to the Circassian, not the fellah element in the army that preference was always given.[1] This protest had far-reaching consequences which were conducive to the events of Qaṣr al-Nīl on February 1, 1881. A demonstration of the army led by 'Urābī forced the Khedive and his Prime Minister, Riyāḍ, to accept their demands and appoint Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī Pasha as Minister of War instead of the notorious, arbitrary 'Uthmān Rifqī.[2] This move was considered as a victory of the nationalists over the Riyāḍ régime, for al-Bārūdī opposed to the dictatorship of Riyāḍ, was known as a sympathiser of the national movement.

In his mad fear of losing his power, Riyāḍ organised a kind of secret police, the network of which covered most of the country, to inform him of any activity directed against his régime. He wanted to be able to obviate every possible move on the part of his opponents, and crush the opposition before it could consolidate. Thus he attempted to counteract every attempt at rebellion but not quite in the same ruthless way as before, for the respect and prestige of his government had greatly suffered since it had lost control of the army, the symbol of its power. Open punishment was replaced by

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1. Cf. Cromer, op.cit., Vol.I pp.175-6; Blunt, Secret, pp.133,4.
2. For details Cf. Blunt, Secret; pp.133-138; J. Ninet, The Nineteenth Century, Vol.13, pp.132-3; Rothstein, op.cit., pp.125-128; Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, pp.84-100; Cromer, op.cit., Vol. I, pp.175-179; Shafīq, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.112-118.

intrigues and underhand manoeuvres.[1]

Through his agents Riyāḍ soon became aware of the danger with which Nadīm's activity and ideas were threatening himself and his régime. "Having been warned by an eminent member of the Society who was his spy therein, Riyāḍ had a presentiment of the danger threatening him from me and decided to disband the Jamʿiyyah and disperse the association".[2] However, this was less simple than it seemed. Riyāḍ did not want to attack openly, since Nadīm had gained the support of the Khedive; besides, an open attack was liable to provoke a flare-up of the already existent strong public resentment, especially among the army. Thus "Riyāḍ whispered in the ears of certain eminent members of the association, his agents, and made them my enemies, opposing me in every respect. They combined against me on the Board of Directors, so as to make me tired of the Jamʿiyyah and quit of my own free will. When I became aware of the plot and realised by whom it was inspired, I treated them leniently, until I met Riyāḍ Pasha in Cairo. Although he was concealing in his mind the harm he intended for me, I dissembled and he reacted in the same way. The talk we exchanged was polite;

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1. For details Cf. Rāfiʿī, al-Thawrah, pp.108-111.
2. Tārīkh Miṣr, p.55.

finally he gave me leave to publish the periodical Al-Tankīt[1] [Raillery] though what I really had in mind was Al-Tabkīt [Reproof]. In publishing this periodical I intended it to be my voice after I had left the Jamʿiyyah, as if I had an assembly of orators in every town and village".[2] It was a patriotic literary weekly in a humorous vein; when the first issue appeared on June 16, 1881, 'Abd-Allāh Nadīm was stated as its owner and editor.

It was divided into two sections. One, destined for educated readers, written in classical Arabic, dealt with educational, social and political problems in his usual literary symbolic style - he had to resort to allegory to avoid Riyāḍ's resentment and thus to escape 'Adīb Isḥaq's fate. The other section, with the common reader in view, mainly discussed the defects of the social structure and was composed in colloquial language and style. He wrote both with skill and mastery, addressing every guild and profession in their own characteristic manner, using their own maxims, sayings and proverbs, "and in both he wrote what no Arab writer had ever written before".[3] Three thousand copies

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1. This newspaper appeared under the title Al-Tankīt wa al-Tabkīt, (Raillery and Reproof) and was printed on the printing press of al-Maḥrūsah in Alexandria.
2. Tārīkh Miṣr, p.55
3. Cf. Zaydān, Mashāhīr, Vol.II, 109; Cf. Also Samīr, op.cit., p.10.

of the first issue - at that time a very large circulation for a weekly - were delivered to the subscribers of al-Mahrūsah, but only five copies were returned.(1) Nadīm's original intention had been to postpone the second issue until he had collected a sufficient number of names and addresses of subscribers,(2) but the keen demand on the part of the public compelled him to speed up publication.(3) Before the second issue appeared, the paper had already agencies in Cairo, Ziftā, Rosetta, al-Ismā'īliyyah, al-Manṣūrah, Damanhūr and Kūm al-Nūr.(4) Al-Tankīt's strong appeal to the masses as well as to the intellectual élite greatly contributed to Nadīm's fame, for his articles moved the sufferers' hearts whatever their sect or class, and they found in them their own thoughts and problems.

In the third issue Nadīm hinted at the existence of the split between him and certain members of the Society. What he gave to understand in the already familiar, symbolic way, is that "two members, one wearing a turban and the other wearing a fez, were plotting against him and spreading malicious rumours".(5) In the fourth issue, however, Nadīm

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1. Al-Tankīt, 13.6.1881. p.30.
2. Al-Tankīt, 6.6.1881 p.2.
3. Ibid., 13.6.1881. p.30.
4. Ibid., p.18
5. Ibid., 26.6.1881, p.34; the men he is referring to may have been Ḥusayn Fahmī and Aḥmad Pasha Ra'fat the head of the Jam'iyyah and Governor of Alexandria at that time, cf. Tārīkh Miṣr, p.55.

at first referred openly to murmurs of a dissension between members as the cause of a delay in the payment of employees' salaries, but in the end denied it altogether, obviously in the hope that the rift would be eventually bridged over.(1) The actual aim of his opponents seems to have been no more and no less than Nadīm's complete isolation and eventual dismissal from the Jam'iyyah to deprive him of the opportunity of speaking in public at the periodical Mahfil. In the eyes of the people, however, the Jam'iyyah was Nadīm and there could be no Jam'iyyah without Nadīm. Therefore, when the Damanhūr branch celebrated, at the end of June 1881, the opening of its school,(2) Nadīm was the only member of the Central Office Board to be invited to attend the ceremony as its representative. The speakers taking part vied with one another in the praise of Nadīm, hailing him in verse and prose as the founder of societies, the pioneer and torch-bearer of education, co-operation, and unity by association.(3)

When the Jam'iyyah school held its annual examination

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1. Al-Tankīt, 3.7.1881. p.50.
2. It was under the patronage of Muhammad Bey Sa'd al-Dīn, the Mudīr of the Buḥayrah province; Cf. Al-Tankīt, 10.7.1880 p.79.
3. For details of the opening ceremony and the speeches delivered on this occasion, cf. Al-Tankīt 10.7.1881, pp.76-85 and 17.7.1881, pp.102-103.

on July 9, 1881, it was visited, on that occasion, by the Khedive and some leading figures of the nation who were greatly pleased with the students' answers and their speeches of welcome. The impression the school made on the Khedive could not have been more favourable.(1) However, at the end of the last day of the examination,(2) Nadīm submitted to the head of the society, the then Governor of Alexandria, Aḥmad Pasha Ra'fat, his resignation from the post of director of the school, allegedly for reasons of health. Thus he left the school he had himself called into being, after two years service as a tutor and director.(3) His heart, however, remained with it; he always regarded the school and his students with special affection and sympathy.

While visiting the school, the Khedive had given Nadīm to understand that he would welcome a repetition of the successful amateur play production, Al-Waṭan wa Tāli'al-Tawfīq, on the stage of the Zizīnyā.(4) Having chosen, for this purpose, the second anniversary of Tawfīq's accession to the Khedivial throne, July 14, 1881, Nadīm gave notice of the forthcoming performance in the national newspapers, including

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1. For details, cf. al-Waqā'i', 14.7.1881
2. July 9, 1881; cf. al-Waqā'i', 14.7.1881; Al-Tankīt, 24.7.1881, p.118.
3. Al-Tankīt, 24.7.1881, p.118.
4. The largest theatre in Alexandria at that time.

his own.[1] It is characteristic of Nadīm, that he destined the proceeds of the performance for prizes for the successful students of the Jam'iyyah, while the remainder was to go in aid of the needy ones among them.[2] This proves that, though he had severed the occupational links with the school, the ties of affection with which he was bound to this spiritual child of his remained as strong as before.

It must be noted that, though the Khedive secretly and Riyāḍ openly had both their share of guilt in oppressing the people and submitting to the European powers, they were both plotting against each other whenever they had the chance.[3] Thus, as soon as Riyāḍ "learned about the hint the Khedive had given to me, and after I had revised the play and gone through a rehearsal with the students of the society and given notice of the impending performance, Ḥusayn Fahmī and Aḥmad Ra'fat[4] and some other ignorant people did their utmost to delay and hinder the sale of the tickets, spreading the rumour that all the places were booked up and the tickets sold out to keep people from

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1. Al-Mahrūsah, 3,5 and 7.7.1881; Al-Tankīt, 10.7.1881, p.87; cf. also Tārīkh Miṣr, p.55.
2. Al-Tankīt, 17.7.1881. p.92.
3. Cf. "The Times" 6.10.1881 and 6.1.1882; Blunt, Secret; pp.135,142.
4. The then Governor of Alexandria and the head of the Jam'iyyah. Cf. Tārīkh Miṣr, p.55; Al-Tankīt, 24.7.1881, p.118.

inquiring; they also induced some of the students on the cast to absent themselves on the eve of the performance, aiming to bring about a failure of the play. Their hostile endeavours actually succeeded, for the audience was scanty. The next morning, [July 15, 1881] I announced my resignation from the Jam'iyyah altogether."(1)

Nadīm's account of the plot is confirmed by that of an eye-witness, Aḥmad Samīr, who, as a member of the Executive of the Jam'iyyah and teacher at its school, was present at the actual meeting at which Nadīm's resignation was discussed. "A fraction of the members, foolish and insolent, opined that Nadīm's fame had grown at their expense and detracted from the honour due to them. Thus, betraying and deceiving him, they combined in the decision to eliminate him. In that they were supported by some people in high positions at that time one of whom was the actual president of the Jam'iyyah(2) who called a meeting of the executive on a night when the dissemblers were many, and whispered in each others' ears. That important man appeared in the guise of an enemy of Nadīm and appealed to the members to dismiss him from the board of the school and the Society altogether.(3)

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1. Tārīkh Miṣr, p.55. Cf. also Al-Tankīt, 17.7.1881, pp.91-94.
2. Aḥmad Pasha Ra'fat.
3. He did not want to accept Nadīm's resignation because he wished him to be condemned and dismissed with ignominy. He wanted the public to lose confidence in Nadīm.

A few days before, however, Nadīm had had a presentiment of the conspiracy, and submitted his resignation from the Society in words that transported knowledgeable people with delight [lit. set their minds dancing]. The head of the meeting produced and read the letter to the members meaning to give them one more reason for vengeful indignation. Most of those assembled that night had to submit to the orders of the president, for he was one of the lackeys of the oppression of absolutism.(1) He had the doors shut and wrote - what a disgrace! - a letter which was all balderdash and raving madness, a misleading, deceitful, cold-blooded fabrication. The long and the short of it was that Nadīm was unfit to be a member of the Jam'iyyah or director of the school, though how could that be since it was his own creation?! They had several copies made of this ruling, and some tormentors circulated them among the members, requesting them to put their signature to the circular. No sooner was the session over than I rushed to Nadīm and informed him of what had happened. It did not affect him in the least, and his comment on the matter was: 'For(2) every message is a limit of time and soon shall ye know it'."(3)

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1. i.e. the agents of Riyād.
2. Qur'ān, Sūrat al-An'ām (the Cattle) 'Āyah No.67.
3. Samīr, op.cit., p.9.

This was the last straw; Nadīm's anger, so long contained, flared up. He attacked Riyāḍ and his agents openly, and denounced the conspiracy whose victim he was in Al-Tankīt under the title of Matā Yastaqīm al-Ẓill wa al-'Ūdu A'waj!![1] (How can the Shadow Be Straight if the Branch Is Crooked!!). The article is a trenchant attack on those who schemed and plotted against him and the expression of his intense disgust at the infiltration, into the societies, of the rich and powerful who joined not to serve the people but the better to dominate them. He pointed out that the burden of the financial loss caused by the failure of the play would be borne by the Jam'iyyah whose treasury had benefited by the previous performances to the amount of three hundred and fifty pounds, since Nadīm, who was entitled to a quarter of the proceeds, usually ceded his part to the society.[2]

The same issue of Al-Tankīt contained an article entitled Thamarat al-Ijtimā'[3] (The Fruit of Unity), and alluding to the existence of a faction within the Jam'iyyah which wanted to enforce a change in the statutes - it was also given to understand that they wanted to erase from the statutes Nadīm's

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1. Al-Tankīt, 17.7.1881, pp.91-94.
2. Al-Tankīt, 17.7.1881, pp.91-94.
3. Ibid., p.95

name as a founder and supervisor[1] - or at least provoke a split and secede from the Society to form another. Though Nadīm struck a blow in defence of the statutes - to avoid creating a precedent, admitting of a change of the statutes for personal reasons - he nevertheless approved of their wish to form another society which was ultimately bound to benefit the good cause by further co-operation, meetings and increasing the number of schools.

The public found it by no means easy to put up with Nadīm's summary dismissal, for it was obvious that it was due to no other reason but the patriotic speeches he had made to enlighten public opinion. Thus indignation was rife, especially as the prestige of absolute government had gradually begun to wane.[2] Riyāḍ must have felt that he could not completely disregard the resentment of the public, for he made his agents spread false rumours, detrimental to Nadīm's reputation and dignity, in order to provide a plausible reason for his dismissal. As emerges from the refutation of the charges, which Nadīm published in Al-Tankīt, the allegations were that he denounced abominations which he perpetrated himself, and

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1. Article No.24 of the statutes stated explicitly that Nadīm was the founder of the Jam'iyyah; cf. al-Waqā'i',19.10.1880; al-'Aṣr al-Jadīd,18.10.1880.
2. Owing to the loss of control over the army.

exhorted people to do good deeds but did not practise them for his own part. In the second place, he was accused of "having strayed from the right path and misled others for want of religious education."(1) The third allegation was that "he was not trustworthy enough for the property of the Jam'iyyah to be left in his care."(2) They alleged that the real motive behind all his activities was the wish to achieve personal fame and a high postion;(3) they pretended to unmask subversive propaganda aiming at the overthrow of the present régime by inflammatory speeches whose character was always ambiguous(4) and lastly, accused him of trying to sow the seed of dissension among the members of the Society to cause its downfall.(5)

Aware of the need to fight the conspiracy which had formed behind his back, and the malicious rumours circulated by his enemies, Nadīm addressed his public in three articles published in Al-Tankīt which are among the best he has written. In one of these articles, he gave a picture of the condition of the country throughout the ages, showing its decline from honour and glory to humiliation, abasement

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1. Al-Tankīt, 24.7.1881, p.107.
2. Ibid, pp.107,108.
3. Ibid, p.108.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

and obscurity in form of an animal fable entitled Al-Dhi'ābu Hawla al-Asad[1] (Wolves Around the Lion), in another he apostrophised the era he was living in in a scathing satire of his opponents under the title Ittabi' al-Haqa wa in 'Azza 'Alayka Zuhūruh[2] (Follow the Truth even if It Causes You Trouble). In the third article of the series, under the title Iyyāki A'nī Yā Nafsī fa Sma'ī wa 'ī[3] (Thee, I Mean, My Soul, so Hear and Remember!) he disproved the allegations one by one in a style which was both sarcastic and fiery, and with an irrefutable logic which silenced his opponents. He told his public that his whole life belonged to them: they knew it inside out, there were no hidden secrets to be revealed. There were his constant companions to bear witness that there was no discrepancy between his words and deeds, his private and public life. His speeches, articles and discussions were there to prove that his ideas were neither foolish nor contrary to religion, science or logic. Not the ignorant, but the 'Ulamā' and intellectuals who attended his lectures and read his writings, were entitled to pass judgment on him. As to the accusations regarding the

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1. Al-Tankīt, 24.7.1881, pp.111-112.
2. Ibid, pp.109-111.
3. Ibid, pp.107-109.

funds of the Jam'iyyah - Nadīm pointed out that even if they were justified, which was not the case - the responsibility was the treasurer's or the cashier's, to whom they had been entrusted. "Man is heart and tongue", continued Nadīm, "and mine are before everyone's gaze to see what they contain. By them they can judge me; but my hard bedstead and the only clothes I have will prove whether I covet fame. Thank God, I am pleased with them so long as these blessings keep me from drinking the scoundrel's drink and eating the beggar's bread"![1] Nadīm's apologia reaches a dramatic climax when he takes up the challenge, defying the threat of banishment for the fight against oppression. In an imaginary dialogue with his soul, he says: "Did'st thou not read, my soul, in stories from the past, of the martyrdom of orators and the executions of pioneers, and the tortures and banishment of teachers? Thou must not gainsay, my soul, what thou hast done in word and deed, for thou hast clamoured in thine own tongue in the voice of the East whose echo resounds in the West...but if it is said that thou pursuest object or purpose apt to offend thy masters, or cause thy death, say, art thou content?"[2] His soul replied: "I am, I am content, whether left to live

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1. Al-Tankīt, 24.7.1881, p.108
2. Al-Tankīt, 24.7.1881, pp.107-108.

or put to death, for I will either persist in my struggle or become a legend, passed on by the present to the coming. Before long, the hidden events will be revealed and the unjust reward for my struggle for my people's freedom will change into a blaze of light in the story of my life..... I can suffer anything, but one thing I will not consent to, to be made a scapegoat for the destruction of unity".(1)

Now it became manifest that Nadīm had resolved to abandon his former tactful, cautious, diplomatic method of struggle, and thrown overboard the covert allusions implied in wary words in favour of an open attack on Riyāḍ's despotism(2) for, in his own words "the principal goal had been reached, the call had spread, and the lazy, silent thought had moved in one direction: to gain freedom and rise against oppression".(3)

In this new phase of struggle he resorted to political agitation as a means of kindling the flame of revolution in the hearts of the fellahin. Once he had taken the crucial decision he never looked back, though he fully realised the risk he was running, for Riyāḍ's wrath could strike at any moment, and his very life was in immediate danger. "Grant me a week or two" - said Nadīm to his soul

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1. Al-Tankīt, 24.7.1881, pp.108-110.
2. Tārīkh Misr, pp.55-6.
3. Tārīkh Miṣr, p.55.

- "and if I pass away from this life it will relieve the strain upon thee. If not, and thou emergest in new circumstances, I will endure still more danger and hardship for which thou wilt receive thy share of God's reward and over and above. Pay no heed to people; we take pains today and God's reward tomorrow".(1)

This vital decision marks the beginning of the most important period of his life: the positive political period. It was plain to him from the start that the first steps in this campaign would lead him again to the source from which all life had sprung, the villages and the fellahin. "I began wandering from place to place", said Nadīm, "and declared the feud openly in the garb of patient fortitude; I delivered speech after speech in every town and village that I visited, I stirred up thoughts to continuous unrest, making the facts of the oppression by the rulers and their wilful acts known far and wide; I called for the overthrow of the pillar of oppression and so threw off the shackles of slavery".(2) Nadīm, the first Egyptian speaker openly to resist oppression, planted the seed of revolution in the souls of the fellahin and fired

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1. Al-Tankīt, 24.7.1881, pp.108, 109.
2. Tārīkh Misr, p.55-56.

them on to deeds with his tongue and pen: besides the bold and fiery speeches, a number of equally bold and fiery articles saw the light of day. They were all published in Al-Tankīt[1] and dealt with the lavish extravagance of the rich and the potentates who were squandering, on futile pleasures, the fruits of the toil of the fellah, the very sweat and life-blood of the wretched and destitute. Nadīm apostrophised the rich, saying: "Come and see the tool of your dignity and the origin of your life and the source of your fortunes, your brother, nay, I beg God's pardon, your servant, the fellah. See the tatters he is clad in, see the felt cap which barely covers the crown of his head, and the dry bread you could hardly break with all your might, and the cheese - why, loathsome even to look at; see him watering his plants with the mud up to his waist and the sun roasting his head and his body ..... He is the real owner of your privileges, though you never glance at him but with the eye of detestation, and never touch him but with the hand of insult and scorn, and never talk to him but with the tongue of abuse. In all his aspects you find

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1. He sent them to Alexandria to the Head Office of Al-Tankīt which he left in the care of his lifelong friend, Ahmad Samīr. Cf. al-Tankīt, 7.8.1881, all through.

him revolting and hideous".[1] Parallel with this campaign, he conducted yet another against the other enemies of the fellah, such as ignorance, superstition, belief in witchcraft and the evil eye, addiction to narcotics (mainly opium and hashish) and liquor which did untold harm to increasingly wide circles of the population.[2] He also attacked the policy of embarking on foreign trade and neglecting the homemarket. He maintained that it was the wealthy who shared preference for foreign goods, and the foreign powers using their influence to promote the sales of their own merchandise, were responsible for the ruin of numerous native workshops and the decline of native crafts.[3]

In order to paralyse Nadīm's efforts to incite the fellahin to demand liberty and to rebel against the régime, his antagonists, in Alexandria, the agents of Riyāḍ continued to cast aspersions on his character and spread rumours calculated to cost him the confidence of his public. With others they were intriguing to set him at odds with his friends, the Syrian journalists at whose printing press his newspaper was printed, who published his news-bulletins

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1. Al-Tankit, 15.8.1881, p.155; cf. [illegible] p.
2. Ibid, pp.157-158.
3. Ibid, 21.8.1881, pp.176-177.

and propagated his ideas. One of the agents alleged that Nadīm, addressing the 'Umdahs and notables at Mīt Ghamr and Ziftā,[1] had accused the Syrians of harming the nation, so that a Syrian among the audience had felt impelled to rise and throw the gauntlet in Nadīm's face, challenging him to a duel; he even maintained that Nadīm had chosen the weapon and named his Seconds. Defending himself in his newspaper, Nadīm wrote a brilliant refutation of these slanderous charges under the title Takhrīfah Madaniyyah[2] ('Civilised Dotage'). "When I read my friends' letters demanding an explanation of these rumours I could not help laughing about this nonsense ... I wish to reply to my brothers as well as to my readers that these allegations had never been uttered by any other tongue and never conceived by any other mind than by those Alexandrians who consort with these liars and scandalmongers. I have, in fact, been fighting a three years' duel, a duel against ignorance, which has been fought with the weapon of persuasion and whose aim it has been to urge people to found schools, and those I have named to act as my witnesses are the societies and the newspaper, Al-Tankīt. The arrows shot by me have stuck in the throats of the fools and the ignorant, and I

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1. Two large cities in the Delta.
2. Al-Tankīt, 21.8.1881, p.170.

took my tongue on tour to defeat the enemies of my country... let them wait just a while; we shall prevail against them in the end".(1)

These words were prophetic. The situation in the country was about to change radically. The victory of the Egyptian army over tyranny in February 1881, the first decisive act of the national movement, provided a signal to the nation. By the quite natural logic of the circumstances, it was the army that took the initiative in the national uprising against the régime. The fact that soldiers should take the lead in a national movement was not surprising, for in the East, as it was well pointed out at the time, "soldiers have at all times been the chief factor in political movements; they alone have the unity and courage to carry out their ends".(2) In the case of Egypt this was doubly true.

"The army" justly wrote The Times,(3) "we must remember, is the only native institution which Egypt now owns. All else has been invaded and controlled and transformed by the accredited representatives of France and England". Thus the army was, as it were, predestined to take the lead in

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1. Al-Tankīt, 21.8.1881, p.170.
2. The Times, 10.1.1882.
3. 12.9.1881.

the national revolution, which had up to now escaped the interference of the foreign Controllers, and possessed the necessary organisation and power. "On the other hand, the nation itself, or rather its more enlightened and constitutionally inclined sections, suddenly became aware that they were in reality not so helpless as they had hitherto imagined, in that they had in the army the concentrated physical force of the country which, if gained over for constitutional reform, could put a swift stop to the long-drawn sufferings and humiliation of the country."(1) In other words, "Civilians, began to ask what was holding them back and they found the answer in the fact that the civil service was officered by Europeans and the government maintained by European pressure. Henceforth the army represented Egypt as against Europeans ... Riyāḍ Pasha represented European influence as against national aspirations"(2).

The army also supplied the leader of the movement Aḥmad 'Urābī. One of the reasons why the bulk of the nation so eagerly responded to the call of the revolution was that 'Urābī, with his fellah background, was so plainly one of them, with their own special qualities, but intensified and made glorious by the authority and power with which they

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1. Rothstein, op.cit.,p.128.
2. 'The Times', 6.10.1881.

credited him. It must be remembered that in all Egyptian history for at least three hundred years, no mere fellah had ever risen to a position of any political eminence in Egypt. Another reason was the activity of Nadīm who was touring Egypt's villages and towns, indefatigably delivering speeches in which he openly denounced the government and its policy of oppression, painted the true picture of tyranny and virulent iniquity and held out to the fellahin the vision of liberation.(1) His unremitting efforts generated the emotional heat which is the prerequisite of any social and political upheaval. "I called on them to demolish the main pillar of tyranny and to break the chains of slavery".(2) It was partly Nadīm who created the mental climate propitious for the flare-up of the revolution. The news of the activity of the national movement reached the villagers and citizens at the right psychological moment. When the call came it found them ready to respond.

All the time, Riyāḍ was aware of the danger of the activity deployed by Nadīm on so many fronts. He even suspected him of being 'Urābī's agent. He therefore

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1. He delivered speeches at Damanhūr, al-Rahmāniyyah, Damietta, Dusūq, Ziftā, Mīt Ghamr and al-Mansūrah. Cf. Al-Tankīt, 4.9.1881, p.186.
2. Tārīkh Misr, p.56.

issued in August 1881, a decree exiling Nadīm from the country, and immediately secured the formal sanction of the Cabinet.(1) 'Urābī and his companions, however, invariably received news and warning of any serious design through their friend, the Minister of War, Mahmūd Samī al-Bārūdī, and were consequently on their guard.(2) That was presumably how they learned of the imminent expulsion of Nadīm. It must be borne in mind that the army was fully aware of Nadīm's activities and the potential benefits for the movement, if he joined forces with them, and that is why it eagerly profited by the chance of rendering him a service by saving him from deportation. Thus when Riyād submitted the decree to the Khedive for signature, 'Alī Fahmī, the colonel of the first regiment of the Guards, appeared on the scene. "Nadīm", he said to Riyād, "though he does not carry arms and wear a uniform, is one of us, the army men, and if you take him from the country by surprise, we will defend him with all our hearts and with all our strength".(3) 'Alī Fahmī prevailed, and the decree was rescinded.(4) He proceeded without delay to Mīt-Ghamr, where Nadīm was just addressing a meeting and, having informed

1. Cf. Tārīkh Misr, p.56.
2. Cf. Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, p.96.
3. Tārīkh Misr, p.56.
4. Cf. Ibid; it was in the third week of August 1881, Cf. Al-Tankīt, 4.9.1881, p. 186.

him of what had happened, formally invited him to join the movement. He gave him a general outline of their aims and procedure, and Nadīm expressed his enthusiastic approval and support of this programme with all its objectives, liberty, justice, equality and constitutional government which appealed to him unreservedly, for it was entirely in keeping with his own ideas.(1) Thus Nadīm decided, there and then, to throw in his lot with the National Party.

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1. Tārīkh Misr, p.56.

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST PHASE OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT.

1881-1882.

Nadīm's Rôle in The Development of Egyptian Nationalism.

Nadīm's decision to join the new movement marks the beginning of the most important period of his life, when he is given the opportunity of putting his beliefs and convictions into action. Having shortened his tour, he went to Cairo for a personal interview with 'Urābī, the leader of the movement.(1) The latter realised fully that Nadīm's tongue and pen, inspired by his unshakable belief in his country, would be among the most valuable assets of the revolution. Thus Nadīm, the first civilian among the revolutionary leaders, became 'Urābī's counsellor, "The voice of the revolution", its official spokesman and orator, and one of the central figures of the movement which gained in strength immensely by his support.(2) From that moment on,

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(1) During the last week of August, 1881, cf. Al-Tankīt, 4.9.1881, P.186; also Tārīkh Miṣr, P.P. 56,57.

(2) Taymūr, op.cit., P.17; Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.532; Amīn, Zu'amā', P.225.

Nadīm's patriotic propaganda formed an integral part of the newborn national movement.(1) All these matters of importance kept Nadīm so busy that the twelfth issue of Al-Tankīt failed to appear according to schedule.(2) This first number after he joined the revolution proves that there was no change of policy as compared with his pre-revolutionary period. The only difference is that it is now his immediate aim to stir up the nation which is still more or less inactive, and incite and lead it to action. In the article Al-I'tidāl Ṭarīq al-Najāḥ (3) (Moderation, the Way to Success), he visualises action in three stages. The first, a negative one, which he terms "inaction", kills thought and destroys the national heritage, the second is the characteristic headlong rush which leads to errors and excesses; only the third, moderation, is infallibly crowned with success. Nadīm's propaganda must have been very effective as is proved, other things apart, by the fact that the circulation of the newspaper increased to a considerable extent not only in the country, but also beyond its frontiers.(4) However, as is the case with any nation-wide movement the elements attracted by

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(1) Cf. Tārikh Miṣr, p.56.

(2) Due to appear on August 28, 1881, it did not appear until September 4, 1881.

(3) Al-Tankīt, 4.9.1881, P.P. 187-188.

(4) It had correspondents in Ḥims, Jaffa, Zanzibar, Calcutta, Hijaz and Berbera, cf. Al-Tankīt, 4.9.1881, P.197, also 23.10.1881, P.315.

its noble aims and the meteoric rise of 'Urābī, were somewhat heterogeneous. "Other interests... naturally joined in the movement and besides being sought out by the fellah Notables, 'Urābī soon found himself approached as an ally by the professed Constitutionalists, many of whom were members of the ruling caste, and were, at heart, as much opposed to fellah liberty as was Riyāz himself."(1) They meant, however, to use the movement as a catspaw for their own ends: they wanted to get rid of Riyāḍ and form among themselves a constitutional government, a situation which they afterwards hoped to exploit according to personal ends. The idea of a constitution in the minds of men of this class was one in which the supreme power, taken from the Khedive, was to remain in the hands of the Turco-Circassian oligarchy, the only group they considered capable of governing the country.(2) The leaders of the movement were by no means blind to all that, but it was their aim to enlist the support of the whole nation, and to gain it was the mission entrusted to Nadīm. It sent him again touring up and down the country, propagating the ideas of the movement." "This 'Abd Allāh Nadīm was very strong in argument and eloquent of tongue, a capable orator of simple diction and persuasive logic. He knew how to approach people in the right way, through their customs and proverbial sayings.

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(1) Blunt, Secret, P.144.
(2) Cf.Ibid,p.144,145; Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.P. 62-66.

He continually travelled from village to town, reminding the people of the glories of their ancestors; he used to stand in the pulpits of the mosques, addressing the people openly, while his eyes brimmed over with tears. His influence on the people grew, and prominent Fellahin all over the country fell under his spell and were ready to follow his call. He had them sign petitions which empowered 'Urābī to act as their representative. Nadīm went back to Cairo, his bag bulging with petitions, already signed, bringing back to 'Urābī the the mandate of the nation, and 'Urābī took them as credentials entitling him to act as the delegate of the nation in the fight for her rights."(1)

The intensive publicity which Nadīm developed all over the country not only popularised the national movement, but also won for 'Urābī marked popularity, and brought him into contact with innumerable 'Ulamā', country Sheikhs and Notables to whom the idea of fellah emancipation which he preached was naturally congenial. They swarmed in shoals into Cairo giving 'Urābī their endorsement to demand on their behalf the right to a constitutional life for Egypt.(2) Nadīm addressed every group, calling on to them to rally round the new movement which

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(1) Mikhā'īl Sharūbīm, al-Kāfī Fī Tārikh Miṣr al-Qadīm wa al-Hadīth, (Cairo 1898), as quoted by Aḥmad 'Aṭiyyat-Allāh, P.P. 50,51,52, cf. also Salīm Khalīl al-Naqqāsh, Miṣr Lilmisriyyin, (Cairo 1884) vol. iv, P.P.89-90.

(2) Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol, iv, P.P. 90,93; cf, also Vol, vii., P.8.

was the only hope of liberation, reciting poems and Zajal[1], eulogising the movement, deploring the condition of the country which was governed by foreigners and European agents. His speeches and verses not only gained the support of the deputations for the demands of the movement but also conditioned the mind of the people for the subsequent armed rising, inspiring them with readiness to fight for their convictions.[2]

After 'Urābī had secured the mandate of the nation[3] "patriotic zeal and ardour" runs an entry in his diary,[4] "stirred in our hearts, and your sons /the fellahs/[5] in the army agreed to defend and protect the Khedive from evil and mischief. Then I marched with the army and took up a stand in 'Ābdīn Square[6] on September 9, 1881.[7] At this moment the party of oppression became more violent, and their resistance stronger. In that situation were the believers tried: 'they were shaken as by a tremendous shaking'.[8] It was the first

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(1) Tārikh Misr, 57.
(2) Taymūr, op.cit.,P.17. cf, also Tārīkh Misr. 57.
(3) Naqqāsh, op.cit.,vol. iv, P.93 and vol.vii, P.8, Tārīkh Misr, P.60.
(4) Ahmad 'Urabi, Kashf al-Sitār 'An Sirr al-Asrār,(not dated) Vol.1, P.266.
(5) Addressing the audience at Amīn al-Shamsī's party in celebration of the success of 'Ābdīn's Day.
(6) In front of the Khedivial Palace, Cairo.
(7) For details about the events of the day cf. Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.P. 122-130; 'Urābī, Kashf al-Sitār, Vol. 1, P.P. 230-238; The Times 6.10.1881.
(8) Qur'ān, Sūrat al-Ahzāb,'Āyah No.11.

time that the Egyptians had stood up to defy Tyranny". Nadīm knew that the fear of oppression was deep-rooted in Egyptian hearts, and was afraid that some of the soldiers might vacillate, finding themselves face to face with their ruler, and thus cause the failure of the venture.(1) "My gallant, dear, zealous, determined friend al-Sayyid 'Abd-Allāh Nadīm" said 'Urābī, "entered the ranks of the soldiers and went from one to the other, exhorting them to remain firm, and reciting from the Qur'ān: at the top of his voice, 'If two parties among the believers fall into a quarrel, make ye peace between them: but if one of them transgresses beyond bounds against the other, then fight ye /all/ against the one that transgresses until he complies with the command of God.'(2) He /Nadīm/ was with me the second of two who were guarding the hearts of men lest they quaver. The whole party began to repeat after him this noble verse as if they had never heard it except out of his mouth and at this vital moment!"(3)

As the spokesman of Egypt,(4) 'Urābī confronted the Khedive

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(1) Cf. 'Urābī, Kashf al-Sitār, vol. i, P.266.
(2) Qur'ān, Sūrat al-Ḥujurāt, Āyah No.8.
(3) 'Urābī, Kashf al-Sitār, vol. i, P.P. 266-267, cf. also Al-Tankīt, 23.10.1881, P.316.
(4) Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol. iv, P.93 and vol.vii, P.8.

with the demands of the nation: the abolition of absolutism by dismissing Riyāḍ, the immediate introduction of constitutional government, and the promulgation of military rule.(1) The will of the nation prevailed, the Khedive yielded and promised to convoke the Assembly of Notables and proclaim the constitution. On the 10th of September all Egypt woke to find that not merely a revolt, but a revolution had been effected and that the long reign of absolutism was, as they hoped, for ever at an end. Nadīm's ceaseless toil was now beginning to bear fruit. For nearly three years he had been active in the country, popularising democratic ideas and the demand for the enfranchisement of the fellah, preparing their minds for a struggle for freedom, and that is why the events of 'Ābdīn resounded with an immediate and terrific echo in their hearts. "Throughout Egypt a cry of jubilation arose such as for hundreds of years had not been heard upon the Nile, and it is literally true that in the streets of Cairo men stopped each other, though strangers, to embrace and rejoice together at the astonishing new reign of liberty which had suddenly begun for them, like the dawn of day after a long night of fear... All classes were infected with the same happy spirit, Moslems, Christians, Jews, men of all religions and all races, including not a few Europeans of those at all ultimately connected with native life."(2)

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(1) For details cf. The Times, 10,12,13,14,19,20 September and 6. October, 1881; Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol.iv, P.P.90-94; [illegible], Rothstein. op.cit., P.130.

(2) Blunt, Secret, P.153.

The events of 'Ābdīn, coupled with Nadīm's intensive propaganda, made 'Urābī the most popular man in Egypt. People in the provinces surnamed him al-Wāḥid (The Only One)[1] and his house became the Mecca of many pilgrims. After the victory of 'Ābdīn he was recognised as the unrivalled leader of the national movement,[2] "as the champion of right against might, of the weak against the strong, of the oppressed against the oppressor".[3]

Nadīm's motive in choosing Cairo as his permanent residence and setting up his main office there, was to remain in close proximity to the centre of revolutionary activities. Besides, having become a leading member of the National Party and 'Urābī's counsellor, he had to live within easy reach of head-quarters. His newspaper, however, appeared in Alexandria as before, and he continued to contribute to it in a series of magnificent articles full of patriotic ardour.

It was characteristic of Nadīm at all times that he had a keen sense of actuality. His articles were always topical in the highest degree: nothing of interest at the moment ever escaped his notice, nor was he ever late in commenting on any event of importance. Thus his articles are a faithful mirror,

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(1) Blunt, Secret, P.P. 144, 179.
(2) Cf. Ninet, Nineteenth Century, vol. 13, P.134.
(3) The Times, 21.12.1881.

reflecting the general trend of events and, taken serially, can be regarded as a chronicle of contemporary happenings. In one of them entitled Dars Tahdhībi (1) (A Lesson in Manners) he calls on the nation to unite under the banner of the Khedive while insisting on their full national and individual rights. Stressing the vital difference between being governed by Egyptian and by foreign rulers, he cries out from the depth of his heart:" Egypt for the Egyptians"(2).

When rumours were rife that Turkish armed interference was imminent(3), he warned Egypt to beware not only of European countries, but of Turkey as well. "There are big nations wanting to swallow the small ones if these show signs of weakness or are at cross purposes among themselves; it is a wise nation that, not satisfied with official diplomacy, probes more deeply into the real political objectives... It puts us to shame if other nations shape our events while we are standing by, merely engaged in play, helping them to achieve their ends by our disunity!"(4) Interested Europeans in Egypt were circulating in their newspapers that the Egyptians were not there to

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(1) Al-Tankīt, 18.9.1881, P.P. 219 - 225; 9.10.1881, P.P. 267-272.
(2) Waliyy al-Dīn Yakan, al-Ma'lūm wa al-Majhūl, (Cairo 1909), vol. i, P.30; Amīn, Zu'amā', P.229; 'Uumar al-Dusūqī, Fī al-Adab al-Hadīth, (Cairo 1954), Vol. i, P.283.
(3) Under combined Anglo-French pressure, cf. The Times, 4.11.1881.
(4) Al-Tankīt, 18.9.1881, P.223.

revolt or to care about politics, but to obey and to be governed because they were ignorant and did not know how to govern themselves; therefore Nadīm wanted his people to be enlightened about their country's affairs. He called on them to read what was being written of the situation and to take an active interest in events. "We must adapt all clubs and circles and meetings to the purpose of discussing actual events which will render the people politically conscious"(1). The Egyptians, responded to his call, and "articles from the Arabic press" writes The Times correspondent, "are recited in the bazaars and the coffee houses by those who can read to those who cannot"(2). He also criticised the Capitulations which "gave the foreigner a privileged position in the fore-front of the country so that no one could remonstrate if the foreigner did wrong, or hold him responsible in court for offences committed; the native citizen was the one to be punished, whether he was guilty or not, because he was involved with the immune foreigner, We see therefore the foreigners hurt and insult the native whose only answer is: Ma'alihsh Yā Khāwāja (Forgive me, Mister). If Egyptians could rely on the equity of the Tribunal, they would not silently suffer abuse; but they know the result in advance"(3).

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(1) Al-Tankīt, 18.9.1881, P.223.
(2) The Times, 1.11.1881.
(3) Al-Tankīt, 2.10.1881, P.253.

Never losing sight of social reform, he wrote about alcoholism, prostitution and usury, which he alleged were forced upon the conventional morality of the East by the interest of European trade.(1) He also drew the nation's attention to the importance of holding fast to their own language in face of the irksome tendency to use Turkish, in preference to Arabic, to please the rulers, and French and English under the influence of the Controllers.(2) Another point he stressed was the necessity of protecting home industry and Egyptian goods against the growing danger of imports from abroad, and pointed out the inescapable consequences of economic neglect by mentioning the deterrent example of India whose own industry had completely fallen into decline because England had exported its raw materials to Britain and re-imported them as manufactured goods thus profiting twice, while India lost the source of her livelihood, losing at the same time her confidence in her own forces becoming but a puppet in the hands of the English on whom she was now entirely dependent. The same threat was now hanging over Egypt whose impoverished merchants had no choice but to

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(1) Cf. Al-Tankīt, 18.9.1881, P.230; 25.9.1881, P.241; 2.10.1881, P.254.
(2) Cf. Ibid., 11.9.1881, P.P. 203-208; 18.9.1881, P.219; 25.9.1881, P.P. 235-239.

work as agents selling foreign goods. Blaming the wealthy for preferring foreign goods, he urged them to do their duty by their country and by their poorer compatriots by forming limited companies[1] to promote Egyptian industry. But though he was opposed to buying foreign goods in excess, his attitude towards the foreign settlers in Egypt was never hostile. He pointed out to the nation that human rights should be observed with regard to everybody, especially with regard to the strangers in their midst, no matter what their origins or religion; he insisted that they should be treated as brothers with kindness and affection, and trouble of any kind avoided.[2]

Nadīm was the first man in Egypt to call for an organisation of professional lawyers with a compulsory examination which every would-be defence counsel would have to pass in order to qualify for membership. In coming forward with this initiative, Nadīm was actuated by certain malpractices he had observed on his last tour of the country. Numbers of poor fellahin who had got into conflict with the law, were preyed upon by ignorant men, mostly foreigners, who took their money for defence in court and, being inept, were

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(1) Al-Tankīt, 18.9.1881, P.P. 219-220; 2.10.1881, P.P.261-262.

(2) Ibid.,18.9.1881, P.221; 25.9.1881, P.239; 2.10.1881, P.282; 16.10.1881, P.298; 23.10.1881, P.308.

doomed to failure. He had seen one of them, a Greek who called himself "Avocato", embark on his voyage home with as much as thirty-seven thousand pounds, seven years after he had come to the city with only one suit to his back.(1)

When the nation was preparing for the election of the National Assembly, which was to take place in December, 1881, he took pains to inform his readers about the democratic ways of government as the foundation of all freedom and a safeguard from the tyranny of autocrats. "If the election were to be limited to the wealthy instead of the clever and educated citizens, it would be pernicious to the country and the nation. The wealthy are inclined to make the poor labour with reward... Most of these wealthy people have made their fortunes by theft from the fellah, by robbery and spoliation... The wealthy do not concede to the poor any right to exist, and, were they to sit in Parliament, they would be merely an additional burden on the mass of the nation!"(2) As to parliament as an institution, he said: "It will serve its purpose if it is entirely unrestricted in thoughts as well as tendencies, and not under compulsion to acquiesce in things contrary to the beliefs of the members and opposed to the interests of the

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(1) Cf. Al-Tankīt, 4.9.1881, P.P. 188-190 and 192.
(2) Ibid, 9.10.1881, P.P. 267-269.

nation; but if it is bound to do what it is ordered by the rulers, take no account of its members, they will be mere puppets and painted dolls, without real substance; they will vanish without trace, with nothing to hand on to posterity, and will be lost in oblivion".(1)

Nadīm also introduced a feature, completely new to Egyptian journalism: he interviewed officials in high positions on matters of the moment and certain topical problems which he wanted to bring within the scope of public understanding. He dined with Aflaṭūn Pasha, the Deputy Minister of War,(2) whom he interviewed(3) on the difference, in customs and moral outlook, between nations of different educational standards and a different degree of maturity. The conversation also revolved about the Egyptian educational missions in Europe and their influence which could be beneficial or detrimental to the nation according to circumstances; about the rule of terror exercised by previous regimes, and about the difference between now, when one could discuss the matters freely, and then "when anybody, young or old, talking about political matters of any kind, had to keep

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(1) Al-Tankīt, 9.10.1881, P.P.269-270.
(2) He was educated in France.
(3) For the full interview cf, Al-Tankīt, 2.10.1881, P.P.251-254.

a watchful eye on every passer-by, while his heart was pounding with fear of the spy, until he grew suspicious of his own son and brother; a fear which killed every thought and plunged everyone into the abyss of abasement and terror and made us puppets in foreign hands".(1) They also discussed the Capitulations, the plague of alcoholism, brothels and usury. Other prominent officials interviewed by Nadīm were 'Alī Pasha Ṣādiq, the Head Officer of the Traffic Department,(2) 'Abd-al-Laṭīf Pasha, the Chief Engineer of the Alexandria dockyard,(3) Muḥammad Qadrī Pasha, the Minister of Justice,(4) and Aḥmad Pasha al-Daramallī, the Governor of Cairo.(5)

Sharīf Pāsha, though the leader of the Turkish constitutionalists and named by the army as Prime Minister, was one of those who believed that only Turco-Circassians were politically mature enough to rule. Thus, when he took office, he surprisingly expressed his loyalty to the English and French political representatives(6) and turned against 'Urābī and his colleagues, ordering them to leave the capital.

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(1) Al-Tankīt, 2.10.1881, P.253.
(2) For the full interview cf. ibid., P.P.261-262.
(3) Ibid.,9.10.1881, P.P. 274-275.
(4) Ibid.,P.P.272-273.
(5) Ibid.,P.P. 273-274.
(6) Cf. The Times, 14,15,16.9.1881.

'Urābī consented for the good of the nation, since he was confident that "the feeling /of nationalism/ had spread from the soldiery to the entire people"[1], but forced Sharīf's hand by stipulating that Organic Law should be sanctioned before he left the capital.[2]

When 'Abd al-'Āl Ḥilmī left Cairo with his Sudanese regiment for Damietta early in October 1881, he was seen off to the railway station, by a large number of civilian and military dignitaries. The star of this memorable occasion was Nadīm, who addressed those assembled (in a famous speech later published under the heading: "O patriots and knights of the country"), praising the army which had achieved liberty, brotherhood, equality, unity, but would be well advised to stay united under the banner of the Khedive for the sake of the nation, and not give outsiders a chance of intervention. Nadīm went with the regiment to Damietta where he also addressed the crowds gathered to welcome them on their arrival.[3]

On October 6, 1881, 'Urābī himself left Cairo with his regiment for Ra's al-Wādī. Almost the whole population of

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(1) The Times, 7.10.1881.
(2) Cf. Rāfi'ī al-Thawrah, P.152.
(3) For details cf. Al-Tankīt, 9.10.1881, P.277; Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol. iv, P.P. 94-95; Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.P. 152-154; Aḥmad 'Urābī, Mudhakkirāt 'Urābī (Cairo 1953), vol. 1, P.P. 91-92.

Cairo lined the streets to see the champion of liberty marching at the head of his regiment, while flags were flying and bands playing reciting triumphal ovations.(1) "He [ʿUrābī] entered the station hand in hand with me; the officers had some difficulty in making way for us to the platform, for the crowds were dense".(2) After ʿUrābī had addressed the well-wishers, the crowd clamoured for the "speaker of the revolution" to come forward in his turn. They carried Nadīm to an elevated place and he spoke about Egypt and her sad history of oppression and the army which had raised the banner of freedom and interpreted and carried out the wishes of the people and made them come true. In his character as the counsellor of the movement, he called on the army to avoid foolhardy haste, but to exercise tolerance and to keep calm under the banner of humanity and to obey the rulers as long as they were acting for the good of the nation; he exhorted them to bear in mind the nature of true liberty which was not equivalent with anarchy, and maintain friendly relations with the foreign settlers. "When I descended to the platform, gallant ʿUrābī embraced me and

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(1) Cf. The Times, 7.10.1881.
(2) Al-Tankīt, 9.10.1881, P.279.

kissed me between the eyes".[1] Nadīm went with the regiment to Zaqāzīq,[2] and addressed the crowds assembled to greet 'Urābī at every station on the way.[3] Huge crowds awaited them at Zaqāzīq, and" after 'Urābī had spoken", said Nadīm, "the crowd called my name, and I took my turn. Then after the other speakers had finished, they called for me again, and I addressed them, exhorting them to maintain unity and order."

In Al-Tankīt Nadīm describes the details of 'Urābī's departure with the regiment for Ra's al-Wādī in a special report, preceded by an introduction, entitled Zifāf al-Hurriyyah fī Misr[4] "Egypt's Wedding to Freedom" in which he invokes Egypt, congratulating her on her newly won freedom; "Egypt, the beloved land of my childhood, my happiness and my heaven, may it please thee what the lions among thy sons have done; but by thee and to thee I swear, and by thine army I insist on thee to tell me, what thou hast experienced in the past and what thou hast become now, for I see thee proud of thine attire, trailing the train of the gown of freedom

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(1) For details of the occasion and the full text of both 'Urābī and Nadīm speeches cf. Al-Tankīt, 9.10.1881, P.P. 278-284.
(2) The capital of the Sharqiyyah province.
(3) Cf. Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.156; 'Urābī, Mudhakkirāt, vol.i, P.95; Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol.iv, P.97; Tārīkh Misr, P.108.
(4) Al-Tankīt, 9.10.1881, P.P. 275-284.

behind thee, thou whom I saw not long ago sick with the European disease ..."[1]

This apostrophe is followed by Egypt's reply relating in the past stage of her history: how she had suffered ruin and destruction at the hands of the Turk, how Ismā'īl's extravagance and folly had driven her into the hands of the foreigners, how Riyāḍ had taken the lead from Ismā'īl, and how she was rescued "by the lions among her sons"[2] who had demolished the pillars of the throne of oppression in a bloodless revolution, and had inured her to democratic ways. Everyone threw off the yoke of tyranny and the shackles of slavery, and put on the crown of freedom in the shade of Tawfiq's patronage and under the protection of the knights of the army who, had restored to Egypt her grace and honour and thrown open to her the door of freedom, kept locked for so long by despots.

Nadīm's revolutionary speeches held continually in Cairo as well as in the provinces were quoted and repeated all over the country and succeeded in making the Egyptian masses conscious of their state. Ceaselessly haranguing them to obtain their support for the national movement, he

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(1) Here he refers to a previous article published in the first issue of Al-Tankīt, 6.6.1881, P.P. 4-6.
(2) Al-Tankīt, 9.10.1881, P.275.

gave the campaign a revolutionary colour. It was the consequence of this new trend that the bulk of the nation began to be conscious of their own importance, and aspire to new tolerable conditions. These speeches, especially on the occasion of the departure of the two regiments, also perturbed the Turco-Circassian elements who, seeing power slip out of their hands, were reluctant to relinquish it; they also caused apprehension among all those who objected to 'Urābī's leadership on the grounds of his fellah origin, and wanted to prevent the flame of the revolution from spreading. His articles and speeches seemed to be and, in fact, were, extremely dangerous to the partisans of absolutism and the Turco-Circassian régime. Nadīm, on his part, was fully aware of the fact that the eyes of the Turco-Circassian ruling clique viewed him with abhorrence and indignation, and that their agents were scheming and plotting against him and only waiting for a propitious moment to pounc upon him. Nadīm denounced their intrigues and machinations in Al-Tankīt under the title: Taqri'al-Aghbiyā'[1] (Fools Reprimanded) "A group of tyrants met and consulted with one another on the problems raised in my speeches at assemblies

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(1) Al-Tankīt, 9.10.1881, P.287.

and army gatherings, and their foul thoughts clashed with each other, and in their perplexity they confused the issues and failed to arrive at a comprehensible and reasonable decision. Pity these miserable men! I myself will supply the reasons why, for I say that the speeches at the meetings are made to urge the nation to do their best for the good of the community, and expand the scope of education and industry. But as regards the speeches for the numerous army, their wisdom seems entirely to elude these foolish people, for, if the army flies into a passion and gathers intense impetus, they require an exhorting counsel, well versed in the art of politics and expert in the internal conditions, to second the on their way, to maintain order and calm their rage, and provide an outlet for the revolt in their hearts... I, on my part, address them in the name of patriotism... These fools know only how to pillage and plunder, how to humiliate the nation and enslave it for their own selfish aims... Those I serve are the Khedive, the Islamic faith, the nation and the country, and I serve them for no other reward but the blessin of God. The days of secret reports to banish Zeyd and expel 'Amr are over, the constitutional era is here to stay..."(1)

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(1) Al-Tankīt, 9.10.1881, P.287.

When the local dignitaries and the members of the Assembly of Notables held parties in 'Urābī's honour, Nadīm, the voice of the revolution, was always invited to be the speaker of the occasion. Sometimes his speeches lasted for hours. When Amīn Bey al-Shamsī the leading Zaqāzīq tradesman, gave a party on October 2nd, at his palace at al-Zaqāzīq, Nadīm was urgently summoned, given the place of honour by 'Urābī's side, surrounded by Pashas and Beys.(1) 'Urābī's speech dealt with Nadīm's rôle on the day of 'Ābdīn, praising his zeal and patriotism, and giving him the credit for a good deal of the success of that day. Afterwards, the audience demanded a speech by Nadīm, which was admired and acclaimed as usual.(2)

Nadīm's speeches in the provinces enormously enhanced 'Urābī's popularity among the fellahin. Wherever 'Urābī went, large crowds came to greet him, and also to listem to Nadīm, "The Orator of the East".(3)

Sharīf, who regarded their activity in the provinces

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(1) For details, cf. Al-Tankīt, 23.10.1881, P.P. 315-317; 'Urābī, Kashf al-Sitār, vol.,i, P.P.267-268.
(2) Cf. Ibid; Naqqash, op.cit., Vol.iv, P.98.
(3) Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.533; Samīr, op.cit., P.19.

with increasing fear and was alarmed at the spread of 'Urābī's popularity there, summoned him to Cairo. Despite that, the meetings continued, and so did Nadīm's speeches. Everyday the anteroom of 'Urābī's house and its entrance from the street were full of people who flocked, from all sides to Cairo to offer their co-operation and support and to lay their grievances and woes before him.(1) Sharīf's move, which had aimed to cut him off from the source of his popularity, misfired, and 'Urābī's house became the focal point of national life. Foreign correspondents interviewed him frequently.(2) As Nadīm says in a letter addressed to 'Urābī: "The officers, the rulers, the 'Ulamā' and the chiefs of the nation stand by you to support you. Your brother /Nadīm/ is standing by you voicing your opinions and interpreting your feelings; our voice is spreading over the country and people are awaking from their long sleep".(3)

This last sentence contains, in a nutshell, the essence of Nadīm's activity as "The Voice of The Revolution". In an increasing flow of articles and speeches he reminded the Egyptians over and over again of the wrongs of tyranny and warned them of the danger of foreign powers, unrolled

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(1) Cf. Blunt, Secret., P.169.
(2) Ibid; The Times, 21.12.1881.
(3) Tārīkh Miṣr, pp5,6, cf. also PP.57,80.

before their eyes the picture of freedom won by the nations of the West at the price of blood and struggle. He dealt with the relationship between Egypt and the Turkish Caliph in the only acceptable form, with Egypt as a free Islamic country under the banner of the Caliph as a symbol of Islam. In every speech he stressed the importance of equanimity and calm as a means of achieving peace.(1)

Nadīm now officially became the voice of Al-Ḥizb al-Waṭanī (The National Party) and 'Urābī, the leader of the party, asked him to proclaim his newspaper the official organ of the national movement, and to change its name to Lisān al-'Ummah (The Tongue of the Nation).(2)

The negotiations between Nadīm and 'Urābī resulted in the following letter by 'Urābī to the Press Registration Department on Dhulḥijjah 24th, 1298 A.H. (October 17,1881):

> "Because we have entered on a new epoch, and because the time of humorous banter has come to an end, it is now requisite to change the name of the literary and educational newspaper Al-Tankīt wa al-Tabkīt to Lisān al-'Ummah, a name which has been agreed upon after some negotiations with the worthy 'Abd-Allāh Effendi Nadīm, its editor and proprietor. We have decided that its contents henceforth be political and educational and of a nature to defend the rights of the nation and Tawfīq's government. It is therefore necessary to approach your Excellency for the paper to be entered and registered under this noble name and with this honourable aim to begin with its nineteenth number."(3)

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(1) For details of the speeches and articles, cf.Al-Tankīt, 2,9,16,23 October,1881.
(2) Al-Tankīt, 23,10.1881, P.206; cf.also Naqqāsh,op.cit.,vol,iv P.101.
(3) Al-Tankīt, 23.10.1881, P.306.

Not satisfied with a mere comment on 'Urābī's letter, Nadīm outlined in the paper his future programme whose objectives were to be openly political, after having been so long dissimulated under the cover of educational precepts.(1) The emphasis would be on the demand for the rights of the nation and the defence of the constitutional government. "Since reasoned Nadīm " the country has a National Assembly to formulate Huqūq al-Ummah (the rights of the nation) it needs also a newspaper to promulgate them...(2) ". The term "rights of the nation" is given here a very liberal interpretation and made to imply "service to the nation"; to serve the nation, moreover, means to defend it by denouncing the horrible acts of tyranny perpetrated in defiance of the policy of a free and just government, and to protect this government from the unjustified attacks on the part of the foreign and Arabic press, and also to continue its campaign of social reform. "Thi newspaper will neither eulogise nor satirise, but will give everyone his due according to his merits, be his actions good or bad, and testify to his deeds for the people to judge him as he deserves(3)".

The nineteenth issue of the weekly Al-Tankīt still appears

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(1) Cf. Al-Tankīt, 23.10.1881, P.306; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, vol.ii P.109.
(2) Al-Tankīt, 23.10.1881, P.306.
(3) Ibid.

under its old title, but the first step in the new direction is made in a reposte to the French paper Débats.

The article in which Nadīm refutes the unfounded allegations of the Journal des Débats[1] and retaliates for its attack on the revolutionary movement, begins with a warning to the nation not to be deceived by the pretended amity of a foreign country which merely serves as a mantle for selfish colonialism, and continues by giving an outline of the policy of the national movement. Concerning the problem of foreign settlers, Nadīm states: "the leaders of the revolution are intent on preserving the rights of everyone in the country and those of the foreigners in particular, and have given the foreign consuls assurances to that effect"[2]. He defines the attitude of the movement towards the Sultan: "Egypt possesses certain privileges entitling her to certain rights; no one can challenge these"[3]. Referring to the opinion of the Débats that the new movement was a mere tool in the Sultan's hands to restore his full sovereignty over Egypt, Nadīm says: "What is the sovereignty of the Sultan which some desire to be restituted? the Sultan has a powerful hold over us, but as the Caliph of Islam ... How could the revolutic

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(1) For the full text of the article cf. Al-Tankīt, 23.10.1881, P.P. 307-315.
(2) Ibid., P.308.
(3) Ibid.

support the restitution of the Sultanate if their demands are for a democratic life? Democracy would, in fact, weaken Turkish sovereignty, not strengthen it... Nor is the revolution the agent of Prince 'Abd al-Halīm, for the throne of the Khedive is inherited by the eldest son in the direct line of descent".(1) The Débats had expressed their apprehension of the danger threatening French interests in Tunisia and Algeria, and also the British route to India, if the revolution succeeded, and recommended the use of force to suppress it. Nadīm answers in the name of Egypt and the whole Islamic world: "If Monsieur Charmes and his brothers [the foreign correspondents] resent Islamic countries uniting for their preservation why should we not resent the occupation of some Muslim countries? And if this spiteful man believes that the Muslim world should be divided to preserve the selfish colonialism of the Europeans, should we vacate our country to safeguard French interests in Algeria and Tunis? Or should we dig a road for the English to go to India? ... The aim of the revolution is to gain equal rights for the whole country to enjoy, without a discrimination against any citizens, be he a Turk or Circassian. We are all Egyptians, Egypt is our Mother, Islam our religion, Arabic our language,

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(1) Al-Tankīt, 23.10.1881, p. 309.

love our relationship and unity our link; our aims are constructive: we want to make our country fertile, defend it from aggression, and suppress tyranny".(1) Nadīm refers to the fate of Tunis under French occupation; French hatred of the Arab is an undeniable fact. "We must take the necessary precautions, and distinguish between enemies and friends; we must keep our country intact, and defend it from aggression with the body and soul".(2) As to Charmes' suggestion concerning measures to be taken for the protection of the foreigners in Egypt; "What is it", says Nadīm, "that makes you fear for the safety of foreigners in Egypt? We have two Controllers, we have foreign heads of civil service departments, foreign merchants and landowners, and all of them, safe and sound, enjoy their work and their safety. The new revolution does not insist on the expulsion of foreigners within twenty-four hours, as France did with her foreigners while preparing for the Russian War".(3) This is what Nadīm has to say in refutation of the allegations of religious fanaticism and chauvinism: "There is no country that does not set store by the preservation of her origin, nationality and religion. If the nations were not bent on preserving

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(1) Al-Tankīt, 23.10.1881, pp. 209-210.
(2) Ibid., p. 312.
(3) Ibid., p. 313.

their character, the world would be but one nation, which is not so ... If we attempt to trace the reason of the unrest in the East and of the internal rifts between the communities of single countries, we find that they are only due to European plots and intrigues. We have not expelled the foreigner from our country because of his faith, even if he is politically harmful, but France has expelled the Jesuits and forced them to forsake their schools and possessions by no other right and for no other reason than fanaticism. We never do any harm to neighbours as France did to Tunisia. Where, in Arab communities, is there any fanaticism with regard to Christians, where, show me, Charmes; everyone can see the two communities living together like brothers exchanging love, pleasure, good will. Who has ever heard of Arab missionaries going to Europe to convert people to their faith, as Europeans do in the East, inducing people to change their religion, and spending millions on that? In the face of all that, how can any European bring such charges against the Muslims who welcome the foreigner in their country patiently endure European intrigues, and suffer accusations of fanaticism and chauvinism which, in fact, only apply to Europeans."(1)

(1) Al-Tankīt, 23.10.1881, pp. 314-315.

It is possible that Lisān al-'Ummah, the name suggested by 'Urābī for Nadīm's new newspaper, did not seem entirely satisfactory to Nadīm, the "Master of Titles"[1], for it seems it was never actually used: In fact, the new paper appeared under the name "Al-Ṭā'if[2] (The Traveller). Nadīm did not envisage Al-Ṭā'if as an entirely new publication, but intended it to be a continuation of Al-Tankīt. Moreover, he himself states that "Al-Ṭā'if appeared in the first period of its existance under the title of Al-Tankīt wa al-Tabkīt"[3]. However, Al-Ṭā'if plainly differed from its predecessor in several aspects: its outward appearance was changed to a full length four page broadsheet; there was a change in the editing itself, for the symbolic approach and most of the allegoric allusions were abandoned. The colloquial part of the paper completely disappeared, and was replaced by classical Arabic which was, however, simple and easy, as a concession to his ordinary readers. He also engaged additional staff for the paper[4]. Finally, he followed here, to a great extent, a

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(1) Al-'Aqqād, 'Ākhir Sā'ah (The Last Hour, periodical), 21.8.1957.

(2) Derived from the name of the town in al-Ḥijāz, presumably as a good luck omen auguring a propitious future, but perhaps also meant to imply that the paper would travel the length and breadth of the country, cf. Taymūr, op.cit., P.7.

(3) Al-Ṭā'if, 21.6.1882.

(4) It continued to be printed on the press of al-Maḥrūsah in Alexandria, cf. Ṭarrāzī, op.cit., vol. iii, P.62.

new policy, necessitated by the change in circumstances. When the paper first appeared under the new name, it bore the serial number twenty.[1]

Its first issue saw the light of the day on November 20th, 1881.[2] In its early days, Al-Ṭā'if was a weekly like its predecessor Al-Tankīt. Unfortunately, the first numbers of this newspaper seem to be lost. The Egyptian Public Library Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah in Cairo possesses only twenty numbers of Al-Ṭā'if, although its life span was nearly a year, and there were eighty numbers all in all. The twenty numbers, however, are not an unbroken sequence of successive issues, since the earliest bears the number forty-one and the last eighty. Thus the only source of knowledge about the missing issues is the testimony of contemporary historians and the reprints of some of its articles in the contemporary both foreign and national press.[3] The undoubted fact remains, however, that the newspaper succeeded in establishing for itself a leading position in the contemporary Egyptian press, with an unsurpassed circulation and fame, and

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(1) The last issue of Al-Tankīt was numbered nineteen. Besides, Al-Tankīt used to appear on Sundays, but Al-Ṭā'if appeared at first on Wednesdays.

(2) Cf. al-Maḥrūsah, 21.11.1881.

(3) Cf. The Times, 5,18,24 April 1882 and 5.9.1882; al-Waqā'i', 27,28.2.1882; al-Maḥrūsah, 16.2.1882 and 11,24.4.1882.

supreme in its impact on public opinion.[1]

The head office of Al-Ṭā'if remained in Alexandria until its twenty-fifth issue was published on January 5,1882.[2] However, before transferring all his activities from Alexandria to Cairo, he decided to found a new centre of activities there to fill the void this would create. Due to the intensive propaganda of Nadīm Alexandria was, at the time, filled with enthusiasm towards the new movement, and he found it expedient to found a new society there, recruited from the local youth, for the city to keep in touch with the national movement. The society was called Jam'iyyat al-Shubbān, (The Youth Society), and the sons of many well known wealthy families and prominent citizens later joined it.[3]

In this period, Nadīm's articles found a ready response on the part of the government. Thus, for instance, when he broached the subject of a retirement pension for civil servants, criticising the attitude of executive civil servants towards their subalterns,[4] the Council of Ministers immediately took the matter in hand and set up a Committee to investigate the deficiences of the existing system. This was conducive

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(1) Cf. Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol. iii, pp. 5,62; Zaydān, Mashahīr, vol. ii, p. 109; Samīr, op. cit., p.10; Blunt, Secret, p. 146; 'Abduh, Taṭawwur, pp. 126-128.
(2) Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., p. 62.
(3) For details, cf. Naqqash, op. cit., vol. iv, p. 232; vol. vii, p. 355; vol. viii, pp. 363,374,448,449,558, and vol. ix, pp. 790-791.
(4) Cf. Naqqash, op. cit., vol. iv, pp. 180 and 211; al-Maḥrūsah 11.3.1882.

to a decree introducing a contributory pension scheme for state employees and the civil service chiefs and regulating the relations between the ranks of the service, a decision which satisfied the public.(1) Besides his efficient pen, he made extensive use of his eloquence. He continued to fight for the foundation of societies as a means of spreading education for the mass of the population, of achieving the emancipation of the fellahin, of promoting home industries and in pursuit of political and social reform in general; he was really the father of the Egyptian societies,(2) wherever, whenever and by whatever people they were founded. He delivered the speech at the inauguration of the Tawfīq Society,(3) which was envisaged as a political club for discussions of current events.(4) The speech was composed according to the already familiar pattern: he urged the nation to gather under the banner of the national movement, pointing to the benefits of co-operation and the evils of dissension. He also introduced, as he often did, his own concept of socialism, reproaching the foolish rich with extravagantly wasting their wealth, instead of sharing it with their indigent brothers. He

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(1) Al-Maḥrūsah, 11.3.1882.
(2) Al-Tijarah, 30.8.1879.
(3) For details cf. al-Waqā'i', 11.1.1882; al-ʿAṣr al-Jadīd, 11.1.1882; al-Maḥrūsah, 10.1.1882.
(4) Cf. Broadley, A.M., How We Defended Arabi and His Friends, (London, 1884), p. 209.

also commented on the opinions of other speakers. As an orator he was in great demand, and was regularly invited to deliver a speech at every subsequent meeting of the society. The Shubbān Society in Alexandria used to summon Nadīm telegraphically to its meetings and celebrations,(1) which used to take place in the mansions of the wealthy, in clubs, mosques, and even on the beach.(2) His speeches were always aimed at the youth, and intended to instil in their hearts burning zeal and courage; but he was also always mindful of the fact that Alexandria was a city teaming with foreigners at all times, and therefore used to preach moderation and tolerance as well.(3) He also was, from the start, the most prominent orator of the Maqāsid Society in which he was the main speaker on every public occasion.

All had gone well so far in the political situation in Cairo down to the end of 1881 and during the first week of 1882. There was a good understanding between all parties in Egypt, and Sharīf Pasha, under the National Party pressure, was preparing a draft of the Organic Law which was to give the country its liberation. However, the success of the national movement did not please England and France; neither did it

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(1) Naqqāsh, op. cit., vol. ix, p. 790.

(2) Ibid., vol. vii, p. 355; vol. viii, p. 476-477.

(3) Ibid., vol. viii, pp. 448,473,646; vol. ix, p. 790.

please their agents, the Controllers. Gambetta, who came into office in France at that time "was filled with apprehension of a general Pan-Islamic rising, and saw in the National movement at Cairo only a new and dangerous manifestation of Moslem fanaticism"[1]. He therefore determined to grasp the nettle with both hands and take strong measures to stop the advent of constitutional government in Egypt. "In this he wanted our (i.e. The British) government to go with him and join in an anti-Islamic crusade in the name of civilisation, and as a first measure to strengthen the hold of the European Joint Control at Cairo"[2].

Though the programme of the national party had been published in The Times[3] on the third day of the new year with a leading article and approving comment and had been well received in Europe, and though its tone was so studiously moderate and its reasoning so frank and logical that it seemed impossible the position in Egypt should any longer be misunderstood, England and France determined, at that very moment, to proceed with armed intervention[4].

It seems that the French and English representatives were on the alert, waiting for a difficult situation to arise,

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(1) Blunt, Secret, P.160; cf.also P.P.182-183.
(2) Ibid.,P.160.
(3) Not on the first day, as Blunt has stated, cf.Blunt, Secret, P.180.
(4) Blunt, Secret, P.181.

and when it failed to occur spontaneously, they created an artirical crisis. Thus, when the National Assembly met to endorse the constitutional programme, they sent on January 8, 1882, a joint note proclaiming that they would support the Khedive and his prerogatives against the Organic Law by every means in their power.(1) This act was clearly not quite an unmotivated provocation of the Egyptians. The government officially refused to accept the joint note,(2) "It is too soon" Sir Edward Malet wrote on January 10, "to judge at present of the ultimate result of what has taken place; but for the moment it has had the effect to cause a more complete union of the national party, the military and the Chamber, to unite these three in a common bond of opposition to England and France, and to make them feel more forcibly than they did before that the tie which unites Egypt to the Ottoman Empire is a guarantee to which they must strongly adhere to save themselves from aggression."(3)

This was only one of a series of impediments the foreign powers tried to put in the way of the new constitutional government;(4) in another instance, the National Assembly was

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(1) Rāfi'ī al-Thawrah, P.P.191,193; 'Abduh, Taṭawur, P.119; for details cf. Th.Rothstein, op.cit., P.P.151,2,3; Blunt, Secret P.P.182-185; The Times, 9,10,14,26.1.1881; al-Mahrūsah 28.1.1881.

(2) For details cf. Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.P.193-195.

(3) As quoted by Cromer, op.cit., vol.1, P.229; for more details about the joint note cf. Rothstein, op.cit., P.156; Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.P. 191-196; Blunt, Secret, P.P.182-188.

(4) Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.195.

discussing the budget when the two consuls sent another joint note, prohibiting the continuation of the debate and insisting that the power of drawing up the budget according to the Controllers' view of the economic requirements of the country, which they had been exercising for the last two years, should remain intact and not be subject to discussion or a vote in the Assembly. The Assembly, however, unanimously declared that as the interest of the debt amounted only to one half of the revenue, the remaining half ought to be at the disposal of the nation.(1)

Sharīf Pasha had supported constitutional reform as a means of attaining power, but could not tolerate the fellah rule over the country. Though he claimed to be a reformer, he was, like every Egyptian Turk, arrogant in his contempt of the fellahin. He was perfectly convinced of his own fitness to govern them and of their incapacity to govern themselves. He thought of the Egyptians as children who had to be treated as such.(2) On the other hand, he was full of reverence for the superiority of the foreigners. Therefore, he yielded to their claims and had already drafted and elaborated a project of law

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(1) Cf. Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.P. 195-205; Blunt, Secret, P.P. 189-196; Rothstein, op.cit., P.P.159-162.
(2) Cf. Blunt, Secret, P.196.

without assigning to the Assembly any right in money matters. This draft was found unacceptable and was flatly rejected by the Assembly.(1) As borne out by fragmentary contemporary evidence, Al-Ta'if, the leading Egyptian newspaper and "the organ of the national movement"(2), tackled the matter very strongly, identifying itself with the stand taken up by the National Assembly, so that the intense bitterness and vehemence of the campaign in support of the representatives of the nation and against foreign interference is reflected in the contemporary national press.(3) On the other hand, the foreign sponsored press in Egypt conducted a campaign against Egypt and tried hard to divert the attention to religious matters, accusing the Egyptians of fanaticism and chauvinism. A raging battle between the two camps flared up and stirred the emotions of the country.(4)

The European press also took sides against Egypt in this campaign. This was mainly due to the way in which it was supplied with information whose main source, the News Agencies of Reuter and Havas, hardly ever sent out a telegram or message

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(1) For details of the Crisis cf. The Times, 20.2.1882. Rothstein, op.cit., P.P.159-162; Blunt, Secret, P.P.189-196; Rāfi'ī al-Thawrāh, P.P.191-205.

(2) Cf. The Times, 1,5,18,24, April, 1882; 'Abduh, Taṭwwur, P.P. 126-128; Ṭarrāzī, op.cit., vol.iii, P.62.

(3) 'Abduh, Taṭawwur, P.P.126-128; Zu'amā', P.225; Naqqāsh, op.cit vol.iv, P.P.247-248; cf.also al-Mahrūsah, al-Mufīd and al-'Aṣr al-Jadīd, second half of January and first week of February, 1882.

(4) 'Abduh, Taṭawwur, P.P.120-122.

without the sanction of the British Consulate. Thus the news from Egypt was officially manipulated in Cairo and made subservient to the intrigues of diplomacy.(1)

It is evident that there was no trace of fanaticism either in the country or in the press. Even the Christian newspapers, especially al-Waṭan, al-'Aṣr al-Jadīd, al-Mahrūsah and Miṣr, strongly concurred in exposing and denouncing the callous treatment of the country by the foreign Controllers and in refuting the accusations of fanaticism. "How disgraceful of the foreigners", said the Christian Salīm al-Naqqāsh, "when they come to Egypt and find a warm hearted welcome on the part of the natives, to turn against the people of this country, and when these insist on their right, to accuse them of fanaticism and chauvinism which in fact is patriotism".(2) In fact, the sympathy and support of Muslims for unjustly wronged and injured Muslims, labelled "Fanaticism" by the foreign press, was due to the provocation by French atrocities perpetrated in Tunis. There was a general feeling of bitterness against the French in the whole Islamic world. "There was an echo ... of the bitterness felt by all

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(1) 'Abduh, Taṭawwur, P.P.120-122, Blunt, Secret, P.P.175-176.
(2) Al-Mahrūsah, 7.2.1882.

Mohammedans just then on account of the French raid on Tunis where it was affirmed that mosques had been profaned and Moslem women outraged."(1)

Nevertheless the feeling at Cairo between Christians and Moslims was altogether friendly. "The Copts were, as a rule, wholly with the revolution and their Patriarch was on the best of terms with the Ministry of which Butros Pasha was a prominent and respected member. Even the native Jews with their Chief Rabbi were all for the Constitutional Reform".(2)

Nadīm, with his popular appeal and vivid style, wielded his pen in defence of the National Assembly, fought against European intervention and led the campaign against France because of the desecration of mosques and raping Muslim women in Tunis. He had also his share in the attack made upon various gross abuses, such as the injustice of taxation which, under the foreign financial control, favoured the European at the expense of the native, or the unnecessary multiplication of highly paid offices held by foreigners, French and English; on the hold obtained by these over the railway administration and the administration of the domains which had passed into the

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(1) Blunt, Secret, P.164.
(2) Ibid., P.P.164-165; cf.also The Times, 4, and 8, February 188

hands of the representatives of the Rothschilds; on the scandal of 9,000 pounds a year subvention being granted still, in spite of the poverty of the country, to the European Opera House in Cairo.(1)

Though Nadīm had to carry the whole burden of responsibility for information and propaganda in the revolutionary movement, he never lost sight of social reform. He continued his fight against prostitution and drunkenness. "A campaign was being carried on, especially by the Tā'if newspaper, edited by a hot-headed young man of genius, 'Abd Allāh Nadīm, against the brothels and wine-shops and disreputable cafés chantants which, under the protection of the 'Capitulations' had invaded Cairo to the grief and anger of pious Moslems".(2)

The articles which Nadīm published in Al-Tā'if were immensely popular due to their own literary merits as well as to their appeal to the nation and to the prominent position which Nadīm occupied in the national movement, and were frequently reprinted verbatim by the national press.(3)

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(1) Cf. Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, pp. 72-74; Blunt, Secret, p. 164; Rothstein, op. cit., pp. 64,117,119-120.
(2) Blunt, Secret, p. 164.
(3) Cf. al-Waqā'i', 27 and 28.2.1882; al-Mahrūsah, 20,23,24 January, 1882; 16.2.1882; 11.3.1882; 11 and 24.4.1882.

Moreover, the leaders of the movement constantly made use of Nadīm's articles and ideas - as was only to be expected, since he was the official spokesman of the movement - in voicing their views on matters of the moment and the aims of the revolution. Thus the Cairo correspondent of The Times, having interviewed one of 'Urābī's colleagues, reported the interview in terms which were a faithful echo of an article by Nadīm under the title Hadhihi Hiya Madaniyyatuhum! (This is their Civilisation!): "What has Western Europe done for us? It has given us what they call civilisation - gas, railways, paved streets, machinery - yes, but have the peasants better clothing, more comfortable houses, or are they better taught? No; they live in Cabins [your] horses and pigs would not enter, and they have only the clothes on their backs; they work from sunrise to sunset, and everything they get goes to the tax-collector. The biggest thing Europe gave us is the Suez Canal; it cost us 18 million sterling, the lives of thousands of our countrymen were lost in its construction and it robbed us of a large portion of our trade. It started the

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(1) The text of this interview exactly coincides with Nadīm's article as published in Al-Ṭa'if and reprinted in al-Maḥrūsah 20, January 1882, under the title "This is Their Civilisation!"

last Khedive in a career of extravagance. He wanted more of European civilisation and he went on and on until we got this civilisation round our necks and it nearly chokes us. We are forced to pay more than half our revenue for this civilisation. ... The foreigners come and absorb big salaries and manage our concerns wastefully. We must inquire into European management, and point out the waste and ignorance and blunders.

"If this is civilisation we don't want it, but we want to work out our destinies after our own fashion".(1)

This is Nadīm's opinion of what was called at that time "Western civilisation" and it corresponds exactly to the opinion of impartial occidentals living in the East "I am not" said the correspondent of The Times,(2) "with those who hold that Western civilisation must slowly but surely conquer the world. There are other civilisations besides ours, societies just as good, although less material. Moreover, our rule does not fit natures so different to our own as the Egyptian. The loose slippers of an Eastern suit him better than our tight boot; his flowing robe and easy turban become him more than our heavy hat and closefitting cpat. 'Your rule is like your iron, it is very hard", said a native friend the other day".(3)

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(1) The Times, 4.2.1882.
(2) Who had spent many years of his life in Egypt cf, The Times, 4.2.1882.
(3) The Times, 4.2.1882.

However, the spirit of tolerance and conciliation did not prevail. On February 2nd, 1882, the National Assembly unanimously declared that it would not accept the Organic Law elaborated by Sharīf, but would put forward a project of its own which would provide for the full control of the Chamber over the Budget. "It must be borne in mind", said Sir Edward Malet, "that the Egyptians have distinctly, for good or for evil, entered on a constitutional path, and that the Organic Law of the Chamber is their Charter of Liberty."(1) Unable to brook the contradiction of the "children" who had plainly grown up and got out of control, Sharīf had a fit of rage and resigned. Under pressure on the part of the Deputies, the Khedive called upon Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī to form a government, and sanctioned, on February 7th, the Organic Law. The Bārūdī cabinet was exclusively recruited from the national movement and consisted of men of fellah and Arab origin; in fact, it was the first national government in modern Egypt; 'Urābī himself was appointed Minister of War. The Circassian tyranny was broken, and the fellahin, confident in the men of their own race and choice, looked forward to a renewal of the golden age - perhaps unreasonably, but still with a courage which in itself was the first and most important

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(1) Egypt, No. 5. P.50, as quoted by Rothstein, op.cit., P.161.

step towards their national redemption. The announcement of the formation of the new Cabinet and the introduction of the Organic Law had made the whole country ecstatically happy.

This achievement was not only a victory for the national movement or the National Party, but in a great measure a victory for Nadīm and his doctrine. A man with a mission, he had shunned no endeavour, no strain or hardship to fulfil what he had set out to do years before with so much ardour and determination. For years, he had been sowing the seeds of freedom in the hearts of the fellahin, for years the nation had been groping in the dark, while he had struggled to open their eyes; now he could see the seeds he had sown come to fruition: "Egypt" was, at last, "for the Egyptians", and governed by Egyptians and represented and guided by deputies from their own midst, men of rural and fellah origin. The victory of the cause to which he was committed was actually the climax of Nadīm's political life.

Cairo teemed with delegations of village Sheiks, provincial dignitaries and Arab tribesmen from every corner of the country who hastened to express their joy, and to

congratulate the leaders of the National Party,[1] Nadīm addressed every group, assuring them that the success of the movement was due to their unity and support.[2] There were also delegations of the Shubbān Society of Alexandria, who had come to thank the Khedive and felicitate the government, and whom Nadīm accompanied to the palace where they were received in audience by Tawfīq, to the house of the Prime Minister, and of the Leader of the Assembly, and finally to 'Urābī's office. On all these occasions, Nadīm was the spokesman of the delegates of the Society, delivering speech after speech on constitutional life and the prospects of national progress under the rule of democracy.[3] Before returning to Alexandria, the delegation presented Nadīm with a gold watch and chain as a token of their gratitude for the services rendered by Al-Ṭā'if to the cause of constitutional life and of the pleasure they had derived from his style and eloquence.[4]

This memorable event in the history of the country was solemnized by numerous celebration parties whose descriptions reflect the real political outlook of the contemporary Egyptian. Nadīm, was invited to every party; he always

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(1) Cf. Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.P. 209,227.
(2) Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol.iv, P.234.
(3) For names of the delegates cf. al-Waqā'i', 7.2.1882, also Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol.iv, P.232,233.
(4) Ibid.

delivered the main speech and, acting as a master of ceremonies, introduced other speakers, commenting on whatever they said. Presumably his opinions were taken by people and press to be the official pronouncements of the National Party, for it was common knowledge that Nadīm was the counsellor of 'Urābī and the spokesman of the National Party. These celebration parties offered great scope to the prominent men of letters and orators of that time to display their talents. Among these, were Muḥammad 'Abduh, Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī and Adīb Isḥāq.

It is characteristic of these parties that they were attended by dignitaries, representatives of religious bodies, deputies, leading figures of the government and the National Party, prominent citizens and a crowded audience drawn from the educated classes. "Although political discussion was forbidden by the rules, these places of resort now became (with the full knowledge of the authorities) the scene of a series of brilliant fêtes, in which orator after orator pictured in vivid colours the coming regeneration of Egypt, the free admission of Egyptians to every species of State employment, and the approaching end of foreign interference and social superiority. Egyptians were intoxicated at the prospect held out to them. The sentiment timide gave place

to the most confident anticipation. It was then the walls echoed again and again with shouts of 'Long Live the Khedive!'"(1)

The orators mostly spoke on topical subjects like democracy and constitutional government, and matters of social, educational and religious interest. Nadīm always incontestably towered above the rest; oratory was "suited to no one else as to him"(2) and he was suited for nothing so much as for that. Unlike his fellow orators, he did not limit himself to one topic only, but dealt with several, and spoke not only once like the others, but as many as five times in one night.(3) The source of his eloquence was inexhaustible, and he could capture the attention of his audience like no other orator of the time.(4) They were never bored: he thrilled them to the core, inspired them with zeal, strength and belief in themselves, and kept them spellbound for hours on end. They always wished he would go on for ever and imperiously clamoured for him to comment on the speeches of the others.(5)

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(1) Broadley, op.cit.,P.209.
(2) Adams, op.cit.,P.221.
(3) Cf. Rafi'i, al-Thawrah, P.P.227-234.
(4) Samir, op.cit., P.19; Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah,P.P.532-533; Taymūr, op.cit.,P.P. 17,18 and 27; cf also Gibb,B.S.O.S., vol,iv, P.755.
(5) Cf. Shafiq, op.cit., vol,i, P.P.146-147; Naqqāsh,op.cit., vol. iv, P.234; vol.vii, P.355; vol,viii,P.467,558; vol,ix, P.791,804; Blunt,Secret, P.P.308,330.

When the Shubbān Society in Alexandria celebrated the occasion in the first week of February, Yūsuf Pasha gave a party for Egyptians and foreigners in his mansion. The party was attended by many high-ranking citizens, among them the governor of the city, and Nadīm was the guest of honour. "What the audience heard from Nadīm's fascinating speech pleased their eyes and delighted their ears, until they thought it sheer magic; but he went on speaking until the dawn broke".(1) Nadīm was also the main speaker at another party, given by Badr al-Dīn Bey, one of the most prominent merchants of Alexandria.(2)

It is needless to say that when the officers celebrated the occasion at Qasr al-Nīl in Cairo there was no doubt as to who was to hold the main speech. Nadīm spoke about most of the problems confronting the new government about the strength that is in unity, about the beneficial prospects of the alliance with other Muslim countries under the leadership of the Sultan, about co-operation among individuals and nations, about liberty which is deliberately kept within the limits of reason, and about patriotism, Nadīm kept his audience in

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(1) Al-Mahrūsah, 9.2.1882; cf also Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol, iv, P.234 and vol, vii, P.355; Rāfi'ī al-Thawrah, P.234.
(2) Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol, vii, P.355.

thrall again for a whole night.[1]

On Sunday night, February 12th, al Maqāṣid Society ... which was used as a political club by the National Party,[2] held the most famous party in its history to celebrate the occasion. "Speeches were delivered ... against Europeans and appeals were made to religious and Arab feeling. The text of these speeches was the possibility of hostile measures being taken by the European powers in consequence of recent events in Egypt. The Prime Minister and the War Minister were both present".[3]

'Abd Allāh Nadīm, the orator of the National Party,[4] gave the opening speech. The preamble, the recitation of a poem of his own, made a considerable impression and was enthusiatically received by the assembled audience.[5] He thanked the audience for coming to celebrate the sanction of the Organic Law, the charter of Egypt's freedom. Then, in his usual rôle of master of ceremonies, he introduced one by one the other speakers, taking the platform after each of them

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(1) 'Urābī, Mudhakkirāt, vol.i, P.122.
(2) Cf. The Times, 15.2.1882.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Taymūr, op.cit., P.18.
(5) Cf. Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol, iv, P.234; Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.227-230.

had finished, commenting on the contents of the previous speech. Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī, Muṣṭafā Māhir, Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh[1] and Adīb Isḥaq[2] spoke on this occasion. Nadīm delivered altogether five speeches of considerable length.[3] The second compared the beginning era of freedom to the preceding era of oppression; the third dealt with elementary education and the right way of imparting it: what subjects should be taught, how examinations should be conducted, how imperative it was that the complicated procedure then in force should be abolished in order to wipe out its noxious effect on the pupils who represented the future of the nation, stressing the principle of co-operation and unity. In his fourth speech, he replied to and commented on the speech of Muḥammad 'Abduh. It is significant that Nadīm was the main speaker of the party, although Muḥammad 'Abduh was the official speaker of the Society. It was the tenor of Muḥammad 'Abduh's speech that the voter as well as the elect of the nation must not fall below a certain educational standard.[4] Nadīm's reply was a flaming defence of democracy:

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(1) Whose guests they were that night, and who, at that time, was the chief editor of the official journal al-Waqa'i' al-Miṣriyyah.

(2) At that time Junior Clerk of the National Assembly.

(3) It was his way to voice his comments on the speech of the orator in question, and then to deliver a separate speech of his own; cf. Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.P.227-230.

(4) Muḥammad 'Abduh's attitude in these matters was the cause of a misunderstanding between him and the National Party. It must be borne in mind that he was a supporter of the Riyāḍ regime and such in favour of a "just absolutism"; cf. Riḍā, Tārikh al-Ustādh, vol.i, P.P.147-148; Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.228; Amīn, Zu'amā', P.306.

real democracy was not attained by discriminating against the illiterate, but by raising their educational standard; he also enlarged on schools and kuttābs and on the importance of augmenting their numbers. In his fifth speech Nadīm asserted that, far from wishing to discourage the good intentions of the government and to revile the existing scholastic system, he merely desired to point out the way to improvement. Thus the party went on until three o'clock in the morning.(1)

The party given by two deputies, Aḥmad Maḥmūd and Ibrāhīm al-Wakīl, on February 18, 1882, ~~the=meqēa~~ gave the public another opportunity of listening to the "Orator of the East", for it offered again a wide scope to extol the benefits of the Organic Law. This time, Nadīm addressed the audience on the necessity of holding fast to the newly established rights which had been granted them by the Organic Law, and insisted on the importance of individual freedon which is every man's birth-right. He stressed the need of vigilance in guarding the newly-won liberties to avoid the introduction of any flaw into the

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(1) For more details cf. al-Waqā'i', 15.2.1882; 'Urābī, Mudhakkirāt, vol.i, P.123; Rāfi'ī, al Thawrah, P.P. 227-230; Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol.iv, P.234; Riḍā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh, vol.i, P.P.147-148.

constitution, and the possible loss of any of the precious new privileges.(1) He called on the nation to bear in mind the intrinsic value of the individual citizen which had to be put to its proper use in the proper place to be of benefit to the nation. He asked them to assess the events correctly without relenting in their effort and without losing hope. He spoke again five times, commenting on every other speech, voicing his ideas about liberty and social reform, and reciting and expounding the Qur'ān in a way which was practically inspired and "altogether admirable".(2) When the party was nearing its end at dawn, Nadīm finished with an improvised poem the effect of which on the audience was tremendous, and which was received with cheers and applause.(3)

On March 3rd, 1882, Aḥmad Abāẓah Pasha, a leading figure of the fellah origin and a member of the National Assembly, gave another celebration party. As usual, Nadīm announced the opening of the party and took the rostrum five times. In the first speech, he urged the nation to live as good neighbours with any foreigner in their midst, and treat him

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(1) This speech is a refutation of Muḥammad 'Abduh's speech at the Maqāṣid party.
(2) Al-Waqā'i', 21.2.1882; Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.231; Amīn, Zu'amā', P.227.
(3) For details cf. al-Waqā'i', 21.2.1882, Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.230-232; Riḍā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh, vol.i, P.P147.148.

gently and kind-heartedly "since we are all brothers in humanity, and go back to one origin."[1] In the second, he called on the rich to promote industry and endow research for the purpose of exploiting Egypt's natural wealth. In the third he concentrated on the fellah and the duty of the rich to rescue him from the claws of usurers and help him rid himself of the heavy burden of debt which was weighing him down. He paid homage to one who had donated five thousand pounds to his native village to clear up accumulated debt and urged others to follow suit. The fourth was a recital from the Qur'ān, followed up by an exposé which made it clear to the audience that the Islamic faith made it a duty for its believers to live in peace with other religions. The fifth stressed the credit due to political clubs and assemblies for the work done in enlightening the nation on their rights and duties and the democratic way of life in general. He ended with a prayer for the Khedive, the National Ministry and the National Assembly as the hope of the nation.[2]

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(1) Al-Waqā'i', 5.3.1882.
(2) Ibid; Rafi'i, al-Thawrah, P.233-234; Among other parties Nadīm attended was one at the house of Aḥmad Bey Nīr Yakan, where Nadīm spoke on democracy and constitutional life; at the celebration at the mansion of Muḥammad al-Ṣūr, his subject matter was civilisation; cf. ibid; Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol. iv, P.234 and vol. vii, P.115.

These parties prove beyond any doubt how worthy Nadīm was of the proud attribute of the "Orator of the East" by which he was so often described.(1) Here he surpassed himself in brilliance and excellence of style and reached the zenith of his eloquence. Literature derived great benefits from these occasions which produced orators of outstanding merit such as Muḥammad 'Abduh, Adīb Isḥāq, Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī and others,(2) "but Nadīm was more remarkable for his talents as an orator and poet. He was the Tyrtaeus of the movement".(3)

The effect of Nadīm's speeches on the nation at large was enormous. The wide circulation of Al-Ṭā'if made them accessible to large numbers of the population. Nadīm, in fact, gave them a political education. There was hardly a place in Egypt without a political meeting or discussion of one kind or another; even the conversation of ordinary people in the street inevitably turned to things political. Everybody was interested in and informed on political matters. " A friend who knows the language and the people well, told me " said The Times' Cairo correspondent,(4) "that, in the course of a single morning, he counted twenty-seven groups of people

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(1) Samīr, op.cit., P.19; Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.533.
(2) Cf. Gibb, B.S.O.S., vol. iv, P.755.
(3) Gibb, B.S.O.S., vol. iv, P.755; cf. also Adams, op.cit., P.221; Brockelmann, op.cit., vol. iii, P.331.
(4) The Times, 4.2.1882.

in the bazaars, discussing either the Budget or the Ministers or the intervention question." Every meeting, every club, even the mosques, in short, the whole of Egypt was turned into a gigantic forum where the orators held their speeches. There was no social gathering for pleasant chats nor a wedding feast without the orator supplanting the musician or the singer on the dais. "It went to such lengths that the famous singer, Muḥammad 'Uthmān when asked 'which celebration will you be singing at tonight?' gave the reply 'At such and such a party, along with 'Abd Allāh Nadīm'. Often Nadīm turned up in the company of some students whom he introduced to the audience in between his speeches, and these students used to incite people and instil zeal and ardour in their minds. Once I saw Nadīm presenting Fatḥī Effendi Zaghlūl (later Pasha) who was a student at a law school, to the audience at a great party; after the student had delivered a speech on the main political events, 'Abd Allāh Nadīm caught his hand and raised it and said to the public: 'Don't you admire what this student has said, the skill and eloquence and artistry of his speech and his mastery in linking one subject to the other, though Gladstone, the famous orator, deals with one subject only in a speech!!'. (1) ,"

On one of these occasions, when Nadīm was just addressing a crowd of civilians and officers defending the National

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(1) Shafīq, op.cit.,vol,i, P.P.146-147.

Assembly and denouncing the interference of the foreign powers, the enthusiasm of the audience was such that when Nadīm's speech reached its climax, a young officer, unable to control his excitement, drew his sword and cut the chain by which the chandelier was suspended, thus proclaiming his instantaneous readiness to fight, while everybody else was cheering and chanting slogans.(1)

Since Nadīm was in the habit of publishing the full text of his most important speeches in his paper - there is ample evidence of this fact in Al-Tankīt - he must also have recorded the speeches in question in Al-Tā'if. That must have been the real reason why the contemporary national press abstained from publishing them verbatim,(2) as it used to do before Nadīm founded a paper of his own, but only a few tracts are preserved. Unfortunately, the complete texts of these speeches which, according to a contemporary witness, were both very frequent and particularly effective at that time,(3) seem to have been lost with the loss of Al-Tā'if, and the only source available are the summaries in the reviews and comments of foreign and national newspapers

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(1) Zakī Rustum Bey, my conversation within Cairo, **op. cit.**
(2) There are, however, abstracts of his speeches to be found in the daily press and works of contemporary historians.
(3) Rustum Bey, my conversation with in Cairo.Cf.also Shafīq, op.cit., vol. i,PP.146,147.

of that time which, however, far from recording the speeches literally, merely condensed them and commented on them. Indeed, a synopsis here and there is all there is left from Nadīm's oratorical activity in this memorable period. Judging by contemporary sources, these speeches must have been extraordinary feats of eloquence if they always kept the audience spellbound until the small hours of the morning. There was no public speaker in Egypt at the time with equal oratorical gifts.(1)

His work as a journalist runs along the lines exactly parallel to his activity as a public speaker and, though the articles he wrote in this period for Al-Tā'if are not extant and also have to be reconstructed from abstracts and excerpts found in the contemporary press and in contemporary works of history and literature, it can be inferred, with absolute certainty, that they were devoted with equal ardour and equal mastery to all the aspects of the cause to which he was committed.(2) The few scattered pieces available in form of literal copies from the texts originally published in Al-Ṭā'if, which have been traced in the above mentioned Egyptian sources and in the foreign press, including "The Times"(3), are written in a straightforward and effective prose.

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(1) Cf. Gibb, B.S.O.S., vol.iv, P.755; Adams, op.cit.P.221.
(2) Cf. Ṭarrāzi, op.cit., vol.iii, P.P. 5 and 62; Amīn, Zu'amā', P.225; 'Abduh, Taṭawwur, P.P.124-128.
(3) Cf. The Times, 1,5,18,24, April, 1882 and 5.9.1882.

Scant as these fragments are, they prove beyond doubt that he was the leading figure among the Egyptian journalists of his day whom he guided with unerring judgment - Blunt used to refer to him as "the new Oracle of Delphi"[1] - efficiency and ability on the path to progress, popularising the ideas of the national movement, supporting it in its efforts and defending it from its enemies. Other journalists valued his judgment and looked to him for information and guidance[2] both by reason of his dominant personality and his prominent position in the National Party. The news published by Al-Ṭā'if was sure to be authentic, the comments undoubtedly sound. In short, Al-Ṭā'if was regarded, by both the native and the foreign press, as the official organ of the national movement.[3] It was also the most famous of the Egyptian newspapers of that time, with a circulation surpassing that of any other national newspaper.[4]

When The Times accused 'Urābī of bringing undue pressure to bear on two deputies in Alexandria to enforce his own political aims and mentioned certain incidents there purported to have been 'Urābī's doing,[5] Nadīm proved, in an

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(1) Blunt, Secret, P.329.
(2) Cf. 'Abduh, Taṭawwur, P.P.124-126; al-Waqā'i', 21.9.1881; 25.1.1882; 7,15,21,22,27,28,February,1882; 5,15,March, 1882; al-Maḥrūsah, 20,23,24 January,9,16,February,11,20 March, 11,24 April,1882.
(3) Cf. ibid; The Times,1,5,18,24 April,1882 and 5.9.1882.
(4) Cf. Zaydān, Mashāhīr, vol,ii,P.109; Samīr,op.cit.,P.10; Tarrāzī, op.cit.,vol,iii, P.62; 'Abduh,Taṭawwur,P.126; Blunt,Secret, p. 164.
(5) The Times, 4.2.1882.

effective refutation of these allegations, that they were pure invention and merely part of a deliberate campaign of vilification conducted by a certain sector of the foreign press against the national movement. Nadīm also published personal letters from the very persons who had been named in The Times, in which they not only declared that the accusations of The Times were without any foundation, but also averred that they had never heard of any such incident in connection with any of their fellow deputies.(1) The Times correspondent himself seems to have had second thoughts on the matter and conceded that there was no foundation for the incidents reported.(2) Thus Nadīm supported the newborn Assembly from the start, pleading for it to be given a chance to grow strong and realise a truly democratic policy according to his principle:"Egypt for the Egyptians", and therefore governed by Egyptians. The Assembly, on its part, chose Al-Ṭā'if as its organ with the task of expressing the opinions of its members, in consequence of that, the Leader of the Assembly, Muḥammad Sulṭān Pasha, gave official sanction to the existing state

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(1) Al-Ṭā'if as quoted by Naqqāsh, op.cit.,vol,iv,P.P.247,248.
(2) Cf. The Times, 17.2.1882.

of things, and contacted the Minister of the Interior in a letter dated 15th Rabī' ii, 1299 A.H. (5.March,1882) regarding an official statement naming Al-Ṭā'if as the official organ of the National Assembly,(1) and the Press Registration Department had the endorsement published in every Egyptian newspaper of the time.(2)

The news of the privilege granted to Al-Ṭā'if was received by the national press with unanimous satisfaction and approval. "The newspaper Al-Ṭā'if", writes the Miṣr, "worthy of this honour. It is avowedly patriotic and known for its good will; it has a wide circulation, is influential and of serious importance; its prestige is never doubted."(3)

Having adopted Al-Ṭā'if as their official organ the great majority of the deputies subscribed to it and subsidised it with considerable sums of money.(4) Moreover, the Press Department sent round a circular advising all the government departments to subscribe to Al-Ṭā'if as the best informed Arabic paper, providing the most reliable and authentic information about all events.(5) Thus Nadīm's paper

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(1) For the letter of Sulṭan Pasha cf.Naqqāsh,op.cit.,vol. iv, P.248.
(2) Cf.Ibid; Riḍā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh,vol.i, P.236; 'Abduh, Taṭawwur, P.P.127-128.
(3) Miṣr, 23.3.1882.
(4) Riḍā,Tārīkh al-Ustādh, vol. i, P.236; 'Abduh,Taṭawwur,p128.
(5) Cf. Al-Ṭā'if, 29.4.1882.

became the semi-offical organ of the government and the official organ of the Assembly and the National Party. It was read by everybody who wanted to keep abreast of the news in Egypt and in the Arabic speaking world, and enjoyed the respect and confidence of the foreign and the national press which regarded it as the best source of official and semi-official news. Egyptian papers were in the habit of quoting Al-Ṭā'if to prove or disprove the truth of an event, and to prevent false rumours from circulation. Also the articles dealing with social reform and industrial and financial progress, were widely quoted and copied.(1) Also The Times repeatedly quoted Nadīm as the most reliable source of information on Egyptian affairs.(2) Thus when Nadīm, engaged in an energetic fight against slavery, called on the nation to found a society for the emancipation of slaves for the care and welfare of destitute and homeless freedmen, The Times wrote: "A correspondence recently published in the Ṭā'if shows that the matter is being seriously taken up by the public, and that the negroes and others are forming a society in Cairo for providing freed slaves with employment and assisting them in the difficult

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(1) Cf. al-Waqā'i' 27.2.1882; al-Mahrūsah,16,February, and 11,24, April, 1882.
(2) Cf. The Times,1,5,18, 24 April, and 5.9.1882.

task of gaining an honest livelihood. The matter has been strongly pushed forward by 'Abd-Allāh Nadīm ... and he thus concludes his latest remarks upon the subject:

"Those who feel inclined to contribute towards this society are requested to send us their subscriptions. We are taking the necessary measures (in view of the coming abolition) to provide homes in all parts of the country for the freed slaves and unemployed black servants until they get engaged. This, we hope, will enable us to extirpate the abomination of slavery from this country and place us on a level with the other civilizes nations of the world".(1)

Another subject on which Nadīm felt very strongly was that of the functionaries of European extraction who occupied high positions in the Civil Service and drew huge salaries, without, in fact, being needed, since there were a number of educated Egyptians who had studied in Europe and were perfectly capable of taking their place. His bitter attacks against this state of things were also reported by The Times: "The dismissal of leading European officials has been much discussed, and the national papers, Al-Ṭā'if, the organ of 'Urābī, and the Watan, the Copt organ, are loud in their complaints against foreign functionaries."(2)

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(1) The Times, 5.4.1882; cf. the article also quoted by al-Maḥrūsah, 24.3.1882.

(2) The Times, 1.4.1882.

A remarkable article, entitled Al-Gharīb fī Waṭanih (1) (A Foreigner in His Own Country) forms part of this campaign. In this article, Nadīm apostrophises those young Egyptians who, having returned from their studies in Europe, were hoping for a good position in the service of their country. "Imagine yourself coming back to your country after seven years absence. You arrive at Alexandria and find the great port managed by a harbourmaster who is an English sailor. You land your boxes and find yourself in a Custom House controlled by an English Post Office official. You go to Cairo by the main railway which you find administered by an Anglo-Indian and a French railway employee. You send a telegram to your family to meet you by lines superintended by an English telegraphist or you write by a postal service managed by another ex-official of the English Post Office. You want to go to the Upper Nile and you are forced to use a steamboat monopoly, established by an English Company. You go into the country, and you find old friends lost in the toils of big English Greek Italian money-lending companies. You ask why your fellow countrymen are not better taught; you find the Public Debt absorbs all the money which might go for schools and canals.

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(1) Reprinted in al-Maḥrūsah. 20.3.1882.

I could go on with many instances, but I have given you reasons enough, O Egyptian, to believe that you are really a foreigner in your own country. Thus if you really love your country, you must support the national movement, which is trying to obtain for you all your human rights so that you should feel that your country is really yours."

The upward trend in Nadīm's popularity still continued. The fame which he had won by his pen, his tongue and intelligence soared to new heights. In this period he reached the zenith of his development as an orator, as a writer, as a journalist; as to his status as a politician and champion of social reform, this is how it was assessed by The Times of April, 5, 1882: "Abd-Allāh Nadīm /is/ the popular orator of the National Party and next to 'Urābī Bey, the most powerful man in Egypt."(1) As such he enjoyed a good deal of prestige, not only at home but also abroad. This is illustrated by Blunt's account of a conversation with the then Prime Minister of Britain, Gladstone: "He /Gladstone/ then asked me to tell him something about the civilian leaders of the National Party /of Egypt/, and I explained the position of some of them, Mohammed Abdu, Ahmed Mahmud, Saad-allah Hallabi, Hassan Sherei,

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(1) The Times, 5.4.1882.

and others of the Deputies, and lastly, Abd Allah Nadīm, journalist and orator. This designation at once excited Mr. Gladstone, and the account of his eloquence, and he took down his name upon a slip of paper."(1)

However, fate had decreed that this happy era in Egyptian history was not to last long. The Khedive, the defeated Circassians and the European powers united forces to crush the national movement. The blood of the tyrants Ibrahīm Ibn Muḥammad 'Alī and Ismā'īl, flowing in the veins of Tawfīq, was mixed with the blood of his mother, the slave girl, and though he strove with all his might to wrench the power from the constitutional government and become the absolute ruler of the country, he lacked the courage to tackle the problem openly. Perhaps afraid of 'Urābī's influence and jealous of his popularity he turned one face to 'Urābī and one to the European representatives.

"It was perfectly evident to all who knew the composition of parties in Egypt and the powerful European influence in the field against them [the National Ministry], that the national government had a very uphill fight before them, and that they would have many a serious brush with the enemy before these finally laid down their arms. It stood

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(1) Blunt, Secret, P.236

to reason that the defeated party, the Circassians, with their traditional lack of scruple as to means, would continue the combat with every weapon which might come to their hands, and the national chiefs have not for an instant lost sight of the danger they ran of poison and assassination. They knew that, as long as a chance remained of European or Turkish intervention, the Circassians would be busy ..."(1)

As to the European, French and English Controllers, they scented in the new constitutional régime a danger to their supremacy. They saw themselves suddenly confined to a position of simple observation, reporting all events to the government.(2) "They set themselves to work by every means to prejudice European opinion against the fellah Ministry, aligning themselves with the débris of the Circassian party, they succeeded, little by little, in detaching the Khedive from his allegiance to the constitution he had granted. They defamed the fellah Ministers in the European press, threatened the members of the Assembly with the terrors of European intervention."(3)

These three, constantly on the look-out for an

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(1) The Times, 24.4.1882.
(2) Ibid; 1.4.1882; cf.also 24.4.1882.
(3) Blunt, Nineteenth Century, vol, 32, P.374.

opportunity to cause trouble, finally combined to defeat the national Government. In April, 1882, the situation was greatly aggravated by the discovery of the Circassian Conspiracy whereby the Ministers and Chief Leaders of the National Party were to be massacred and the ancient régime restored,(1) the situation still deteriorated due to the trial of the conspirators. Where, at the end of it, the Khedive, encouraged by British and French support, refused to confirm the sentence, the Ministry requested him to summon the Deputies for an extraordinary session for a debate on the issue. When the Khedive again refused to do so, the country was actually split into two hostile camps: the Khedive with his sponsors, the foreign powers, and the Circassians on one side, and the whole nation on the other.(2)

Tawfīq now attempted, in fact, to complicate the situation in the hope of precipitating an intervention that would give him the opportunity of avenging himself on all those who had humiliated him in the past. The Deputies undertook to mediate between the Khedive and the Ministry and succeeded in restoring some peace to the country for a time. The situation, however, remained tense, for it was by now a well -

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(1) Muṣṭafā, Ph.D., op. cit., p. 377.
(2) For details, cf. ibid., P.P. 377-383; Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P. 264-270; al-Waqā'i', 29.4. and 22.5.1882; Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol. iv, 263-273; Blunt, Secret, P. 244-275; The Times, 12, and 15.4.1882.

established fact that the Khedive had openly thrown in his lot with the European Powers and become a mere tool in their hands.(1)

In the early days of the national movement, when the Khedive was more or less reluctantly demonstrating his sympathy with it, Nadīm had often stressed his loyalty towards the sovereign. Now, after Tawfīq's attitude had undergone this radical change, Nadīm, openly turned against the Khedive after the Circassian plot.

Abandoning all his previous restraint in his criticism of the Khedive, he embarked in his speeches and in Al-Ṭā'if on a passionate campaign against the royal family and what it stood for, bitterly attacking the whole house of Muḥammad 'Alī and especially that branch of it from which Tawfīq had sprung, his father Ismā'īl and his grandfather Ibrāhīm.(2) He described Tawfīq as a puppet king in foreign hands, but 'Urābī as the "Saviour of the Nation" and the "Protector of the National Territory". Indomitably and indefatigably, he addressed clubs and assemblies, commenting on the political situation, and, pointing to the intervention of two Foreign

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(1) Muṣṭafā, Ph.D., op. cit., p. 379.
(2) Al-Ṭā'if, 29.4. and 6.5.1882; Amīn, Zu'amā', P.225; 'Abduh, Taṭawwur, P.P.128-129.

Powers as the cause of the dissension between the Khedive and his subjects.[1] When the rumour spread that Anglo-French intervention was imminent, it was Nadīm who endeavoured to arouse public sentiment against it and against its instrument, the Khedive. In this endeavour he was entirely successful, owing to his ardent enthusiasm, and his appeal to the masses.

None of the articles and speeches directed against Tawfīq are extant but the degree of the intensity of the denunciation can be inferred from the parallel campaign against his father Ismā'īl, which is quite well documented. Two of the issues in question April 29, and May 6, are available for research, and give a rough idea of the way in which Nadīm carried on his campaign against Tawfīq's predecessors. These two issues deal with Ismā'īl in a fierce attack denouncing his cruelty and treachery which ruined the country morally and materially, bringing untold woes upon the fellahin and provoking foreign intervention whose consequences had proved so disastrous. The attack is illustrated by a number of hair-raising examples of the hardship he had caused in his overpowering desire to satisfy his cupidity.[2] A point

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(1) Shafīq, op.cit., P.P. 146-147.
(2) For some of the examples See above PP. 80-83.

which proves the vehemence of Nadīm's resentment against the Khedive and the whole dynasty, is that, when he fell ill and was advised by his doctor to discontinue work he authorised his friend Aḥmad Samīr to act as deputy editor of Al-Ṭā'if, He delegated to him all the work except the articles in the series against Ismā'īl, for, to quote his words, "their publication is a medicine which will help to cure my illness".(1)

This activity was, however, soon interrupted, for, after an attempt at mediation on the part of the Deputies which was temporarily successful, the ministers, desirous of making amends to the Khedive, decided to suspend the publication of Al-Ṭā'if for a month on the 17th of May, 1882.(2)

The reconciliation between the Khedive and the Ministry displeased England and France who refused to treat with the Ministry in power, and therefore it proved of short duration.(3) On May 20th, 1882, Great Britain and France gave a great display of their naval power in Alexandria. This naval demonstration caused a great sensation in Egypt: "All the people in the country" says 'Urābī "are grieved at the dispatch of the French and English ships, and they look on this as a sign of evil intentions on the part of the two Powers towards

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(1) Al-Ṭā'if, 6.5.1882.
(2) It has been maintained that, when this act failed to placate the Khedive the suspension was declared permanent, but according to Nadīm himself and Muḥamman 'Abduh, the period was limited to a month, cf. Al-Ṭā'if, 21.6.1882; Riḍā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh, vol, i, P.236.
(3) The Encyclopeadia of Islam, Vol, i, P.P.416-417.

the Egyptians."[1] The general anger in Egypt reached boiling point when the Two Powers delivered to Tawfīq, through their agents in Egypt, an ultimatum in the form of a dual note. It contained three demands: the temporary removal from Egypt of 'Urābī, the temporary retirement of 'Alī Fahmī and 'Abd-al-'Āl Ḥelmī and their banishment to the interior of the country; lastly, the resignation of the Bārūdī Ministry.[2] The Khedive immediately acquiesced.

Considering the issue to be an internal matter, the Ministry rejected the Ultimatum, The reply was handed to the Khedive together with a note stating that the fact of his already having accepted the Note without previous consultation with the Cabinet and without authority from the Sultan, compelled them to resign collectively. The Khedive at first hesitated to accept the resignation, but did so finally upon the advice of the Consuls.[3] Feeling that the Khedive was going to hand over the country to the foreign powers, the leaders of the National Party tried to prevent that by asking for an investigation of the matter by the Assembly. Upon this, the Khedive sent for Sulṭān Pasha, the President of the Assembly,

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(1) From a letter by 'Urābī to Blunt on May 21,1882; cf. Blunt, Secret, P.P. 279-280.
(2) For the full text of the Ultimatum cf.The Times,26.5.1882.
(3) Cf. The Times, 29.5.1882.

and persuaded him to join forces with him. Thus Sulṭān Pasha refused to convoke an extraordinary session. This occasioned a new split in the national camp, for a few deputies followed in Sulṭān Pasha's footsteps. The bulk of the people, however, remained faithful to the National Party and was against the Khedive and the acceptance of the interference of the European Powers. Even "all the foreign colonies, save the English and French, bitterly reproached the Two Powers which are responsible to Europe for the good government of Egypt for having followed /delivered/ a joint note which was ineffectual because 'Urābī Pasha knew it had no armed force to support it."(1) The patience of the people was strained to breaking point, and, amidst the growing tension, Nadīm developed a ceaseless activity, supporting the dismissed National Ministry, opposing the Note. It was now his duty as the spokesman of the movement to explain to the nation what issues were at stake. The Shubbān Society in Alexandria held a large meeting where Nadīm viewed the recent events with the utmost gravity, and proved to an audience of about ten thousand people, by quotations and examples from

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(1) The Times, 29.5.1882.

the Qur'ān, the Ḥadīth and modern history, that the Khedive was unfit to reign.(1) He said, commenting on the Note: "It is a great calamity, a severe mishap and a dark night, into which the nations have strayed, and in which thoughts have clashed. It has been brought about by the foreign powers which pretend that the Egyptians have no political sense and do not know what is useful and what harmful to the nation. But the National Government, before it resigned, refused the Note and stood firmly protecting our honour and defending our rights."(2) Thus, Nadīm was the first to break, in public, the news of the intention or rather determination of the National Party to dethrone Tawfīq. The leaders of the movement "declared that it was time to get rid of the whole family of Muḥammad 'Alī."(3) However, the situation deteriorated further with tension reaching an unprecedented peak. It became increasingly clear that no one would dare to form a new cabinet on the Khedive's side. Obviously, the only man who could now keep the country in order was 'Urābī.

Appalled by the internal unrest, the Khedive consulted the Consuls of the Two Powers who advised against a reinstatement of 'Urābī.(4) However, he was sought to do so by the

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(1) Cf. Blunt, Secret P.327,328.
(2) It was printed later in Al-Ṭā'if, 21.6.1882.
(3) They were dreaming of a president elected by the National Assembly, or at least of a regency headed by 'Urābī or al-Bārūdī which would rule in the name of Tawfīq's son, 'Abbās. Cf. Muṣṭafā, Ph.D., op. cit., p. 383.
(4) Cf. The Times, 29.5.1882.

Coptic Patriarch and the Chief Rabbi also "all the Ulama of El-Azhar University, the whole Chamber of Notables, numerous Arab notabilities, a deputation from the schools and a body of native merchants came to the Palace to pray the Khedive to take back 'Urābī Pasha as Minister of War."(1) Under pressure, the Khedive recalled 'Urābī and re-appointed him.

Wishing to take advantage of the events which had divided Egypt into two hostile camps, the Sultan sent a Mission headed by Darwīsh Pasha to investigate the matter. "'Urābī had commissioned Nadīm, the Orator to go down to /Alexandria/ some days before to prepare public opinion to give the envoys a flattering reception, and at the same time to protest aloud against the Ultimatum delivered by Malet and his French colleague."(2) Since it was rumoured that it was the purpose of Darwīsh's visit to urge 'Urābī to accept the Powers Ultimatum, "Nadīm ... held a meeting of about 10,000 persons and spoke for two hours against the Note and suggested that every one in the Assembly should protest against it".(3) Nadīm not only denounced the Ultimatum, but wanted to maintain peace in his beloved town where the situation was tense because of

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(1) The Times, 29.5.1882.
(2) Blunt, Secret, P.306.
(3) Ibid., P.329.

the presence of the foreign fleets. " The speeches of Nadīm," says Muḥammad 'Abduh reporting the events,[1] "at that time were calculated to keep the people quiet, explaining to them that even if they were abused or beaten by some of the low-class Europeans, they must beware of being drawn into a quarrel, as this was the object /of the Khedive/ in order to give a pretext for the English fleet to bombard the city. Many of the Notables /who were in the audience/ can bear witness to this." These accounts are exactly confirmed by Nadīm's own report of the events in question: " We /the leaders of the National Party/ had been told of an understanding between Malet, Colvin and others with full agreement of the Khedive to provoke a collision between 'infidels' and Muslims in Alexandria to provide a reason for the Fleets to land their soldiers, and to allege that the disorders were caused by Egyptian army groups in order not to give Darwīsh any chance to see the calm and tranquility of the nation. I went immediately to Alexandria and called at Jam'iyyat al-Maqāṣid lil Shubbān[2] /the Youth Society/ and announced that I was going to address the public of Alexandria on a matter of great importance. Countless hundreds of people

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(1) Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh's Account written while in Exile, in Syria, 1883; quoted by Blunt, Secret, P.P.504-508.
(2) Identical with the above mentioned Shubban Society.

gathered to listen. I delivered the famous Anfūshī[1] speech in which I asked them to remain calm and disregard the rumours spread by enemies. I also asked them to remain quiet and keep aloof from foreign gatherings until this calamity was over. I exhorted them to remain unruffled and not to interfere with the enemy. I explained to them that 'Urābī Pasha had declared himself responsible for the safety of the foreigners as well as for that of the country, and that the Khedive was trying to make him fail in his promise."[2] When the news of Nadīm's speech reached 'Umar Luṭfī, the Governor of Alexandria who had a personal interest in the Khedive's victory, since he had been promised by Tawfīq the post of Minister of War after the resignation of the National Ministry,[3] he summoned Nadīm to the Governorate and there Nadīm attempted to convince the Governor that the police took no notice of the fact that the foreign settlers in Alexandria were laying in stores of arms assisted in that by the heads of their communities,[4] and that the feeling of resentment between Egyptians and foreigners grew daily. Nadīm went to the length of implying that a clash between Egyptians and foreigners would by no means be unwelcome to Tawfīq and

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(1) One of the working class districts of Alexandria, adjacent to the harbour.
(2) Tarikh Misr, op.cit.,P.P.65,66.
(3) 'Urābī as quoted by Blunt,Secret,P.P.508-509;cf,also P.P. 311-312; Broadley, op.cit.,P.89.
(4) Tārīkh Miṣr, P.66.

his agents. The truth of this accusation is borne out by the fact that the Khedive had even asked 'Umar Lutfī to create disorder in a telegram[1] in the following words: "'Urābī has guaranteed public order, and published it in the newspapers, and has made himself responsible to the Consuls; and if he succeeds in his guarantee the Powers will trust him, and our consideration will be lost. Also the Fleets of the Powers are in Alexandria waters, and mens' minds are excited, and quarrels are not far off between Europeans and others. Now, therefore, choose for yourself whether you will serve 'Urābī in his guarantee or whether you will serve us."[2] It was well known to the National Party that the Governor had received this telegram from the Khedive and they expected him to take immediate measures; as Nadīm says, his desire was for the hostilities to continue since he made no attempt to calm the excitement and to control the gatherings of people of ill-will. "I therefore considered it my duty to warn the citizens of my beloved city in order to prevent a serious accident which might become the signal for an outbreak of war. The Governor beckoned to his subordinate to take me into custody, but had second thoughts when he heard the jeers of the numerous youths outside, waiting for me to come out, and merely requested me to leave Alexandria immediately."[3] Nadīm, however, took no

(1) On June 5th, 1882; cf. Aḥmad Rif'at as quoted by Blunt, Secret, P.512.
(2) Blunt, Secret, P.P. 312-313.
(3) Tārikh Miṣr, P.P.66-67.

notice of the Governor's order and remained in the city, preparing public opinion for the arrival of Darwīsh Pasha and the Turkish delegates,(1) addressing the gatherings in the coffee houses, clubs, and even on the beach.(2) At the end of every speech, he urged them to protest against the Ultimatum.

He admonished his audience to "refrain from aggression against the foreign settlers, and asked them emphatically to remain united and avoid any action liable to arouse the anger of the world. He assured them that Egypt was for the Egyptians and that the power to govern should also remain in Egyptian hands as it had been in Egypt's glorious past."(3) In fact, "Nadīm, the new Oracle of Delphi", was cordially obeyed. When the men returned home, they taught their wives and children to join them in protesting against the Note. In fact, when Darwīsh landed,(4) the children were heard shouting in the streets 'el-leyha, el-leyha' 'the note, the note', and from the windows the women called out, 'marfudha, marfudha', 'reject it, reject it...'"(5)

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(1) Tārīkh Miṣr, p. 67.

(2) Naqqāsh, op. cit., vol. ix, p. 790.

(3) Naqqāsh, op. cit., vol. ix, pp. 646,647; cf, also vol. viii, p. 473.

(4) On June 7th, 1882.

(5) Blunt, Secret, p. 329.

When the procession was over and the envoys left Alexandria, Nadīm rushed to Cairo to organise a general public protest which would demonstrate to Darwish the vehemence of public resentment against the Ultimatum. Darwīsh Pasha, however, resorted to threats of force to suppress the revolution. Therefore, having assembled the chiefs of Arab tribesmen, he found that the majority of them frankly opposed his attitude. Also when he summoned the Notables for a discussion of the situation, and notified them that they would no longer be allowed to meet, and that his mission was to consolidate the power of the Khedive, the Notables were, not unnaturally, highly indignant. They insisted on the preservation of their existence as an assembly and informed him that they would never consent to the dismissal of 'Urabi.(1) The 'Ulamā' proved even more determined. When he summoned the Sheikhs of al-Azhar to consult with them about the most expedient measures to be taken to achieve peace, all but two of them pleaded the national cause.(2) "One of them delivered a violent speech demanding a withdrawal of the European Fleets, the deposition of Tawfīq who 'had invited them to come' and the reinstatement of the late Ministry."(3) Darwīsh Pasha angrily dismissed the dissenting majority.(4) The Sheikhs

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(1) Cf. Muṣṭafā, Ph.D., op. cit., p. 417.
(2) Cf. Muṣṭafā, Ph.D., P.417; Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol, vii, P.318-319.
(3) Muṣṭafā, Ph.D., P.417.
(4) Cf. Muṣṭafā, Ph.D., P.417; Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol. Vii, P.318-319.

returned from their audience in great angery informing every one of the turn things were taking.

Now it was sure that the attitude of Darwīsh was by no means friendly towards the National Party, and that he was inclined to support Tawfīq whatever the real reason behind it was, popular feeling immediately manifested itself in a way he could not mistake.(1)

When the news of Darwīsh's High-handed treatment of the 'Ulamā' was published, it created a revolutionary movement in al-Azhar University. "I was present", wrote Louis Ṣābūnjī,(2) "at several of the meetings of the 'Ulema and other persons, and there was general indignation. The Koran and the Hadith were freely quoted, showing the unfitness of Tewfik to rule over a Mussulman community. They were not satisfied, however, with private meetings, but in my presence insisted upon holding a public meeting in the Azhar to protest against the insult inflicted on them. Accordingly the meeting was held in the Azhar Mosque, in the very place where the prayers are made; and Nadīm was ordered by the Ulema to address the Assembly, which exceeded 4,000 persons. The effect produced by Nadīm's oration I have no time to describe. You have seen Nadīm and know how eagerly people hear him and how excited

(1) According to Blunt, Darwīsh was old and far more intent on filling his pockets than on engaging in a personal struggle with the fellah champion. Tawfīq had managed to get together £50,000 for Darwīsh as a backshīsh, and that with £25,000 more in jewels secured him to the Khedive's side; Blunt, Secret, P.306-307.

(2) An Arabic scholar, editor of an Arabic newspaper published in London in 1880, called El-Nahlah (the Bee), and correspondent of Blunt. Cf. Blunt, Secret, P.P.86-87.

they get by his eloquence."[1] The report of this meeting shook Darwīsh's self-confidence, and within a few hours of its reaching him he sent for 'Urābī, whom he had hitherto refused to see, and for Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī, and addressed them both through an interpreter in conciliatory terms.[2]

Darwīsh, however, failed in his endeavour to bring about 'Urābī's resignation, mainly because he was reluctant to shoulder himself the responsibility for the maintenance of peace and order in the country, and Tawfīq's last hope of defeating 'Urābī was dwindling fast. He realised that some disorder had to be provoked at all costs to prove that 'Urābī had failed in his undertaking. As Nadīm had expected, the Khedive decided that Alexandria was the city most suitable for this purpose, since it was governed by one of his agents and was, more than any other town in Egypt, in a large part a European city, inhabited, besides the Muslim population, by Greek, Italian, British, French and Maltese settlers, mostly engaged in trade; also many of them were money-lenders. At no time had there been much love between the two communities, and the arrival of the fleets, avowedly with the intention of protecting European interests, greatly increased the ill-feeling.

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(1) Blunt, Secret, P.330.
(2) Cf. Muṣṭafā Ph.D., op.cit., p. 417.

The feverish excitement created by the high-handed action of the powers, and especially by the naval demonstration, found a vent in individual incidents. On June 11th, 1882, a quite ordinary street brawl developed into a riot with a pronounced anti-European character. It continued for about four hours, during which a large number of people, both Egyptian and foreign, were killed. The riot created a state of panic, with the result that not only Europeans, but also Syrians began to leave the country in great numbers.(1)

The riot was a sever blow to the National Party, for 'Urābī's enemies spared no attempts to represent him as having failed in his task. Actually, it was only a question of minor disturbances and individual incidents,(2) but the British papers conducting a campaign against Egypt interpreted it as an outcry of "fanaticism" and "chauvinism" and called for immediate action in revenge for the murder of British subjects. Pressure was exerted on Darwīsh by the European diplomatic corps to give them a written undertaking that the life and property of their subjects in Egypt would be safeguarded. Darwīsh, however, was fully aware of his inability to do so without 'Urābī. Thus it was 'Urābī who finally gave the foreign representatives the promise they demanded, going to the length of forbidding public meetings

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(1) For details cf; Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.P.298-316. For different reports on the riot cf. Blunt, Secret, Appendix, P.P.497-534.

(2) Muṣṭafā, Ph.D., op. cit., p. 426.

and speeches, not excluding Nadīm, and 'Urābī who, having fulfilled his promise, was "thanked by the Consuls for maintaining order."(1) Conscious of his guilt, the Khedive travelled to Alexandria, where he felt safe under the protection of the British fleet. Darwīsh went with him. A few days later, pressed by the diplomatic corps, he appointed, on June 20, 1882, the Turco-Circassian Rāghib Pasha Prime Minister, while 'Urābī remained Minister of War.

In spite of the ban on public speaking, the voice of the national movement was not completely silenced, since the period of suspension of Al-Tā'if had nearly elapsed. On June 21, 1882 the first issue of Al-Tā'if after its suspension, Nadīm published his own account of the Alexandria riots. "The incident of Alexandria", he said", which was caused by a Maltese, was the original reason of the panic among the foreign residents. Certain foreign consuls went on a round of their nationals, warning them of the impending danger. It was the consuls that were the cause of their departure ... They dispatched their fleets while tranquillity and ease reigned in the country. Before the arrival of the fleets not a single foreigner suffered any harm whatever; only afterwards was there much unrest, emotional turmoil and anxiety which

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(1) The Times, 19.6.1882.

caused physical and economic danger to both foreigners and Egyptians ... The Alexandria incident was by no means spontaneous; it was staged by the foreign powers. The truth of this statement is obvious to anyone that has seen the incident. Bullets were raining on the man in the street from the windows of the foreigners on such a scale and in such a form as to furnish incontrovertible proof that it was all planned and premeditated."(1)

In the same issue, Nadīm also gives a full picture of the current events. In the front page article, entitled Miṣr wa al-Siyāsiyyūn (Egypt and the Politicians), he comments on the international conference which was in session in Constantinople at the time, on the rôle of each of its participants, Austria, Germany, Italy, Russia, France and England and especially on their attitude towards Egypt. In this article, abundantly interspersed with similes and metaphors, he says, commenting on their decision to induce the Porte to send army units to Egypt: " The one who said that Turkey would fight Egypt, did not realise that the Caliph of the whole Muslim world would never raise his sword against a Muslim in violation of the sacred Muslim religion; nor would he cause a rift between the Muslim countries which could never be limited to a split between Egypt and Turkey; the Caliph

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(1) Al-Ṭā'if, 21.6.1882. Later, Nadīm furnished tangible proof of the collusion between the Khedive and the foreign Consulates in fomenting the riots, cf. Al-Ṭā'if, 28.7 and 3.8.1882, Tārīkh Miṣr. P.68.

God bless him will not estrange the hearts of the Arabs by insulting their brothers, the Egyptians, for such an act of intervention would provoke the whole Arab world. On the contrary, the Amīr al-Mu'minīn (the Commander of the Faithful) never desists from the endeavour to unite the Muslim community and to sow love in their hearts under the banner of the Muslim Caliph."(1) One by one, Nadīm, invalidates each link in the chain of reasoning on the interventionists which is finally proved to be both illogical and futile, and ends his article with the conclusion: "The Turkish government itself needs the Egyptian army to maintain peace in its own territory, and that is why I am confident it will refrain from sending a single soldier."(2)

The anger and indignation with which national opinion reacted to the idea of intervention found an immediate echo in Constantinople. "It was said in the highest official circles", wrote the correspondent of The Times in Constantinople, / "Why should we send troops against a man who is the defender of Islam, in order to support a man /the Khedive/ who has been the obedient instrument of foreign governments? ... facts show that this policy cannot, in the long run, be successful; for

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(1) Al-Tā'if, 21.6.1882.
(2) Ibid.

'Urābī represents not a mere fraction, as has been asserted, but the whole of the Egyptian population. We cannot oppose the wishes and sacrifice the interests of a people of five millions for the sake of a young Pasha who has shown no special capacities for government."(1)

At this juncture in public affairs, some newspapers made a move, rather reprehensible at this critical moment. They initiated a campaign against all the Shawām (the Syrians) some of whom welcomed foreign intervention and supported the Khedive against the national movement, referring to them as mercenary foreigners and money-lenders, and expressing their joy at their departure from the country, to which the Syrian press immediately retaliated by an attack on Egypt and the national movement. Nadim took the matter in hand and set out to prove to the Syrians that this negligible part of the press was by no means representative of public opinion. He wrote an article under the title Al-Miṣriyyūn wa al-Shāmiyyūn(2) (The Egyptians and the Syrians), in which he expressed his regrets concerning the emigration of a number of Syrians after the Alexandria riot: "Some feeble-minded people believe that the emigration of many of our Syrian

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(1) The Times, 19.6.1882.
(2) Al-Ṭā'if, 21.6.1882.

brothers will please the Egyptians because of the difference in their ideas expressed in the newspapers, but surely their reasoning is at fault. People may differ in their ideas and still remain brothers; their differences may even be fruitful as regards their sacred Arabic language and the Arab race. We, the Egyptians, believe that they /are entitled to/ enjoy the same rights as ourselves...Later they will return ... and they will know what efforts the government has made to save lives and property ... and will regret having so unjustly suspected the National Party ... though they have erred in their haste, we ask our brothers in Syria to treat them with kindness for their stay will not be long ... On behalf of the National Party I beg them to disregard the people of ill-will whose intention it is to split the Arab world ...

We regret the departure of our brothers and long to welcome them back in this peaceful country ... The prejudice of certain Shawām newspapers against the National Party and the leader of the nation and her knight (i.e. 'Urābī) merely mirrors the personal opinion of the writer and shows what purpose he pursues and what country he serves, for it is clearly no Arab nation; we are sure that he does not echo the views of our Syrian brothers who support Egypt in her affairs."(1)

(1) Al-Ṭā'if, 21.6.1882.

Another sector of the native press, sponsored by foreign agents, profited by the general unrest to try and widen the split between the National Party and the Khedive. Hardly observable before the Alexandria riots, their activity made itself increasingly felt after these events. In an effort to counteract these pernicious and destructive intrigues, Nadīm wrote in Al-Ṭā'if: "Some of the native newspapers, sponsored by foreigners, seem to believe that the present situation offers them a chance to come out into the open with their true aims. That is why they have changed allegiance in their writing ... At times they write what is liable to inflame the anger of the people and want to prove that there is internal dissension, pretending that Egypt is divided into parties and that the aims of the Khedive and those of the country and its army are really contradictory. But all this is wrong ... Newspapers should be truthful guides for the nation. Soon the Egyptian will be aware of the tendencies of every editor and will be able to distinguish between a reformer and a deceiver, even behind the mask of a servant of the people. In fact, if it were not for the fear that we might scare away the nation from the press, we would tell the Egyptians, our brothers, who is the patron of each of these editors ... We have to be thankful to the crisis for having enabled the National Party to distinguish between friend and hypocrite; to seek out the friend and beware of the foe."(1)

(1) Al-Ṭā'if, 21.6.1882.

A third enemy against whom Nadīm had to contend were those whom he called hypocrites, who also profited by the crisis to fish in troubled waters for personal gain. Campaigning against these, Nadīm wrote in Al-Ṭā'if: "When the Egyptian crisis was acute, the hypocrites showed themselves in their true colours. They were divided into two groups: some confined their pens to lies with which they filled the foreign /sponsored/ native press, praising one man and reviling millions; some must have sworn not to utter a single word of truth, for their news was sheer fabrication; some circulated between the National Party and the foreign agencies, repeating to the one what they heard from the other to inflame all hearts with rage, and stir up sedition; some besieged the officers, pretending to offer advice, but were, in fact, a destructive influence. What they ignore is that the aims of the Khedive and the National Party are identical, for they want to preserve the country, though by different methods. When the Caliph learned about that, he effected a reconciliation between the Khedive and the head of the National Party... The enemies are frustrated and are biting their nails in anger and gnashing their teeth in sorrow."(1)

Commenting about the exodus of the foreigners from Egypt, Nadīm expressed his sincere regret about the resulting loss to the country: "They were familiar to us and we were familiar

(1) Al-Ṭā'if, 21.6.1882.

to them; they had, indeed, become a part of the great family of Egyptians. But they lent their ear to the alarmists and scaremongers."

In fact, when the National Party realised that the British public were being misled by their own press, Nadīm, Muḥammad 'Abduh and Ḥassan al-'Aqqād decided to collect all the documents concerning Egyptian affairs that were in their possession or could be made available, and go to England as representatives of Egyptian public opinion, hoping to convince the then Prime Minister, Gladstone, and the House of Commons that the national movement in Cairo was the genuine expression of the opinion of the whole nation and had the good of the whole country in mind, and not merely that of a small military fraction, as Malet and Cookson always represented to the Foreign Office.(1)

Malet was informed of these projects, and was fully aware of the danger to himself, if they reached the ear of the British Prime Minister and succeeded in conveying to him the true picture of the situation in Egypt. Consequently, he made an effort to nip the attempt in the bud and brought pressure to bear on Tawfīq to have them arrested. The Khedive gave the necessary order to Rāghib Pasha. They thought the first move should be to eliminate Nadīm whose enthusiasm and

(1) Ṣābūnjī as quoted by Blunt, Secret, P.344.

dynamic personality provided most of the impulse. Rāghib therefore resorted to a subterfuge: the Under-Secretary of the Ministry of the Interior summoned Nadīm and asked him to travel to Alexandria for a meeting with the Prime Minister; Nadim, however, realised that a trap was set for him and left the office of the Under Secretary with the firm intention of having nothing to do with Rāghib.(1)

When the attempt to arrest him proved a failure, "the Khedive's partisans attempted to poison Nadīm with a poisoned cigar. Nadīm, suspecting nothing, smoked part of it, which was enough to make him lose his mind and sight for about thirty-five hours. Nadīm is a motus perpetuus."(2)

The news of the formation of Rāghib Pasha's new cabinet eased the tension in the country for a certain time. Although the majority of the new ministers were Turco-Circassian, the Egyptian National Party showed willingness to co-operate for the good of the nation. When a telegram from the Khedive to 'Urābī, notifying him of the appointment and requesting him to co-operate, reached him in Cairo,(3) he went, accompanied by Nadīm, for a drive through the capital, to inspire the minds

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(1) Ṣābūnjī as quoted by Blunt, Secret, P.346.
(2) Ibid., P.546.
(3) Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.P. 317-318.

of the inhabitants with confidence.[1]

The nationalists, though they had consented to a reconciliation with Tawfīq to maintain peace and order in the country, had by no means desisted from their original aims, a fact which is corroborated by a contemporary account of one of their informal meetings. "We talked freely about politics" said Ṣābūnjī who attended that meeting "and about different plans and forms of government. The republican form was preferred; and Mahmud Sami ... endeavoured to show the advantage of a republican government for Egypt. He said; 'From the beginning of our movement, we aimed at running Egypt into a small republic like Switzerland - and then Syria would have joined - and then Hejaz would have followed us. But we found some of the 'Ulema were not quite prepared for it; and were behind our time. Nevertheless, we shall endeavour to make Egypt a republic before we die. We all hope to see "Saturnia regna" onee more.'"[2] The obvious person to propagate the idea of a republican form of government for Egypt was the propaganda chief of movement, Abd Allāh Nadīm. "Nadīm's efforts are employed to instil this idea in the minds of the young generation... Since I came here, I and Nadim have been together night and day. We sit talking and devising plans till one or two every morning. We mix in every

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(1) Ṣābūnjī as quoted by Blunt, Secret, P.P. 341-34
(2) From a letter by Sābūnjī to Blunt, Cf. Blunt, Secret, P.P. 343-344.

society. Sheykhs, Ulemas, Notables, merchants and officers receive us with open arms."(1)

A certain discrepancy is observable between the ideas o Nadīm voiced at private meetings and those he expressed in Al-Tā'if. As stated above, he had been campaigning against the Khedive for a considerable time, and had even ventured so far as to demand his deposition, but the attitude he adopted in his newspaper during the period of reconciliation was cautious and conciliatory. He even wrote on his behalf, saying: "The main objectives of the Khedive's policy do not differ from the policy of the National Party."(2) He also referred to the Alexandria riots: "Though the Khedive was alarmed by the foolhardiness of the scatterbrains of Alexandria immediately after the riots he went there himself, taking his family with him, so that the people should know that the danger was over, since he was among them in person, roaming the streets, unconcerned about his safety ..."(3) In fact, neither Nadīm - as he admitted later(4) - nor the National Party were in any doubt as to the real motives behind the Khedive's change of residence, namely that he had been warned of the impending danger and knew that he would be safer under the protection of the British fleet(5).

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(1) From a letter by Ṣābūnjī to Blunt; cf, Blunt, Secret, P347.
(2) Al-Tā'if, 21.6.1882.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Al-Tā'if, 28.7.1882; 3.8.1882; cf, also Tārīkh Miṣr, P.68.
(5) Cf. also Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.310; Broadley, op.cit., P.91.

Inconsistent as this policy may seem, it is unlikely that Nadīm was two-faced. The apparent contradiction has its source in yet another attempt to cement the reconciliation between the sovereign and the National Party which had taken place after the formation of the Rāghib ministry and the re-appointment of 'Urābī as a minister of war. The co-operation between the new ministry, one of whose principles was that the Khedive was to rule constitutionally and have no contact with the foreign powers except through the proper channels, i.e., through the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.(1) This was to prevent any intrigue between the Khedive and the foreign powers with vested interests in Egypt.

"In the midst of the confusion, Tewfik appeared to be the object of a diplomatical tug of war: Darvesh and the Sultan ordered him back to Cairo. Sir Archibald Colvin forbade him to quit Alexandria;"(2) his own choice was to remain in Alexandria under the protection of the British fleet.(3) The reconciliation thus remained of short duration, and came to an abrupt end when the Khedive, without any palpable necessity, issued on June 21, 1882, a proclamation in which he expressed his fears with regard to the safety of foreign nationals, greatly exaggerating the inconvenience they had been put to by the unsettled internal conditions, thus indirectly blaming the

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(1) Cf. Broadley, op.cit., P.92; for details about the programme of Rāghib Ministry, cf. Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol. v, P.P.22-25.
(2) Broadley, op.cit. P.P.91-92.
(3) Cf. Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.310.

nationalists, and particularly 'Urābī for not having been quick and circumspect enough to prevent bloodshed, and exonerating the real culprits.(1) This is the whole episode as related by an eye-witness: "I called at Mahmūd Sāmī's house, where the leaders of the National Party meet every night to discuss their plans. In the meantime, attention had been called ... to a proclamation from the Khedive, in the official paper, concerning the late riot at Alexandria. The newspaper was at once brought and given to Nadīm, who read the article with much animation and excitement. It produced a very bad effect."(2) Nadīm was of the opinion that the strong influence of the foreign powers on the Khedive was due to the fact that he was in the habit of communicating personally with their representatives. That is why Nadīm "found fault with the proclamation and raised a very animated discussion which lasted till 2 o'clock in the morning."(3) The Khedive's breach of promise, and the mild measures taken by the Cabinet "roused Nadīm's feelings, and he rebelled against the Ministers as well as against the Khedive, and began /again/ to preach the Khedive's deposition."(4) In fact "the

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(1) For the complete text of the proclamation cf. Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol, v, P.P.24-25.
(2) In a letter to Blunt, dated June 27, 1882; cf. Blunt, Secret, P.544.
(3) Ibid., P.P.544-545.
(4) Ibid., P.545.

dissension between the National Party and the Khedive and his ministers who had accepted his proclamation was thus revived."(1)

There is no doubt whatever that the feelings Nadīm expressed after he had read Tawfīq's proclamation were his true feelings with regard to the Khedive. It is only human that his bitterness against him increased, expecially after the abortive attempt at arresting him and at eliminating him by poison. It is also probable that Nadīm and his friends were duped by the Khedive's obvious trick and involuntarily played into his hands, for there was nothing he desired so much as to terminate the unwelcome truce, and nothing he hoped for so much as internal unrest which would furnish a pretext for foreign intervention to save his throne.(2) Nadīm was undeniably somewhat hasty in openly rebelling against the ministers at this critical moment, when it was imperative to avoid dissension at all costs, thus provoking them to range themselves with the Khedive against the National Party. However, it was not a deliberate attempt to foster the misunderstanding, but an emotional outburst so characteristic of Nadīm. He was, to a great extent, governed by his emotions; in this particular instance, emotional factors seem

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(1) Cf. Blunt, Secret, P.545.
(2) Cf. Riḍā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh, vol.i, P.P.233,249; Broadley, op.cit., P.211-212.

to have entirely won the upper hand and obscured the sound political judgment which he possessed in no mean degree. This opinion is corroborated by the description of his character given by one of his closest friends during this period:[1] " Nadīm, in spite of all his good and revolutionary and reforming character, is, I must confess, hasty, excitable and very impulsive....."[2]

Meanwhile, the campaign of the British newspapers against Egypt was increasing violently, and their tendency to represent the incident of Alexandria as a manifestation of religious fanaticism became more and more apparent.[3] It is strange that the contemporary correspondents of the British newspapers in Egypt who were eye-witnesses of the incidents, never really refer to fanaticism as the cause of the outbreak in their original reports which were simultaneous with the events in question. The astonishing thing is that reference to fanaticism only began to occur in these reports when the actual incidents were already a thing of the past. As the propaganda chief of the national movement, Nadīm immediately took the matter in hand: "It is obvious that most foreign correspondents do not know Arabic, and have to hunt for news

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(1) Louis Ṣābūnjī
(2) From a letter to Blunt, cf. Blunt, Secret, P.545.
(3) Cf. The Times, The Daily News, The Standard, The Daily Telegraph from 16.6.1882 onwards.

among people in coffee-houses and hotels[1] and at meetings of foreigners. Perhaps the one they ask does not know Arabic himself...It is no wonder that the foreign newspapers are full of news without foundation and events that never took place. This is also the reason of the aversion the Europeans harbour against the Egyptians. They believe what the correspondents write, and the correspondents rely for their news on people ignorant of the Egyptian events."[2] Further, Nadīm adduces evidence to prove that there has always been amicable, brotherly co-existence between the different denominations in Egypt and that fanaticism is inconsistent with the easy going, friendly character of the Egyptian: "We are speaking of the Egyptians with proofs whose truth is obvious to any but the blind; for one thousand two hundred and ninety-nine years, the Egyptian Muslims have lived co-existing and co-operating with their fellow citizens. Copts and Jews; they are neighbours in living, friends in meeting, and equal partners in celebrating. None of the three groups interfere with the religion of the others, and none decries the customs and habits and usage of the others; thus all of them have become one man in patriotism and communal life. Though Egypt has passed a period of oppression, there has never been a time when anything like 'fanaticism' raised its head among the

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(1) For a corroboration cf, Broadley, op.cit., P.P.38-42.
(2) Al-Tā'if, 29.6.1882.

Egyptians; the very sound of the word is new to our ears, and one has never heard outbreaks of 'fanaticism' in the whole long period. Not a single drop of blood has been shed for that reason, because it is in the character of the Egyptian to be sociable and kind and friendly and to incline towards peace and stability; they always endeavour to maintain friendship among themselves and with every human being that has come to live in their country."(1) He even stresses the friendly attitude of the Egyptians towards foreign settlers in the early days of the immigration: "When European immigrants first appeared in Egypt, the Egyptians received them with open arms; the strangers' ignorance of the language never made them shun their company, nor did the difference of origin lead the Egyptians to oppose their coming, or prevent their settling down, but they consorted with them and dealt with them and made friends ... This hospitality made Egypt the dwelling-place of diverse nationalities, all living together in peace, and their life, their honour and property, were safe and secure. They even enjoyed privileges and a standard of life which the Egyptians never reached."(2) He follows this up with incontrovertible proof that Egyptians are completely free of prejudice against the Europeans: "We even see the foreigners

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(1) Al-Tā'if, 29.6.1882.
(2) Ibid.

who live in rural districts mix with the ignorant fellahin on a scale unprecedented in any other civilised country ... Whoever comes to a village is unable to distinguish between the Egyptian and the foreigner ... This is the final aim of human civilisation."(1) Nadīm refers to the reports of the journalists which are based on a casual and superficial observation of the lowest classes of the population:

"This easy co-existence was disturbed by certain tourists who came to stay for a few days and conferred with no one but their servants and the ignorant rabble of the nation, the appearance and the customs of the local mob; then they sent to the newspapers article upon article, eked out by their imagination in words to affect you, which the foreign readers believe to be the truth about the Egyptians who are innocent."(2) He also refers to the attitude of the Egyptians towards the Europeans who remained in the country after the Alexandria riot: "The affection of the Egyptians towards the Europeans who have remained in Egypt has grown and they desire to comfort and reassure them and treat them with kindness to banish fear from their minds ... This behaviour of the Egyptians is a very strong proof to Europe that Egyptians really love their guests and settlers in this country. The

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(1) Al-Ṭā'if, 29.6.1882.
(2) Ibid.

Europeans who stayed as guests or traders have never been induced by false rumours to hesitate or lose their faith in Egypt ... they are convinced of the falsehood of the allegation which the newspapers have termed 'fanaticism'."(1) He even invokes the authority of the head of the religious bodies in Egypt: "As regards fanaticism, I intend to tell the reader what has been said by Our Lord the Honourable active Shaykh al-Imbābī, Shaykh al-Islam, to His Excellency Ahmad Pasha 'Urābī, and many high officers and some English people. His Excellency 'Urābī Pasha asked him about the recent events and the Shaykh said: "I have a European neighbour who wanted to leave his furniture with me for safekeeping since he intended to go home. I said to him: 'Fear nothing and stay; the Islamic religion teaches us to protect the one that has committed himself to our trust, and to preserve his property and his life from any injury or damage; aggression against such a person is regarded as aggression against a Muslim. Every Muslim is familiar with this doctrine, and will never attack the settler and violate his honour, because this is strictly prohibited by our honourable religion. Consequently, his fear subsided and his heart quietened down.' If this is the opinion of the head of their religion and the doctrine of Islam, how can one accuse them of religious fanaticism and be afraid to consort

(1) Al-Ṭā'if, 29.6.1882.

with them and live with them."[1] Finally, he says, with reference to the misleading reports, constantly published in The Times: "We beg Mr. Chenery, the editor of The Times, to ask sincere people and those truthful men who have returned home from Egypt about our ideas and our present position, and he will realise the falsity of the person who informs him of the existence of 'fanaticism' and disorder in Egypt. He will find that all these rumours are spread by scaremongers who try to envenom the hearts and create rancour between Egypt and European politicians to reach their aim and prove the truth of what they have been falsely writing for a long time, for the present peaceful conditions disprove their previous reports and expose them as null and void as political errors in the eyes of their own nation. Now they are wiping the sweat of shame with the handkerchief of fear"[2].

However, things were being decided not in Egypt, but in England who was preparing a military intervention.[3] Suddenly, on the 10th of July, Sir Beauchamp Seymour sent to the Commander of the Alexandria forts an ultimatum that unless the guns were removed from the forts at once, he would

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(1) Al-Tā'if, 29.6.1882.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Cf. Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, pp. 327-329; Blunt, Secret, pp. 363-366.

bombard them the next morning!

The Egyptian Cabinet, the Turkish delegates and high officials and the Khedive met immediately after receiving the British Admiral's ultimatum. After some political negotiations, "it was agreed," says 'Urābī, "that it would be altogether shameful and dishonourable to remove the guns. We had always been particularly careful to avoid fighting with any power, and especially with England, but in this case we decided to do it 'in defence'."(1) The Porte was informed that "resistance had been decided on"(2) by the Khedive and his ministers together with the Sultan's envoys.(3) The next morning, June 11, 1882, Alexandria was bombarded.(4) "Later in the day", said 'Urābī, "we were much astonished ... to see the Khedive at the Ramleh Palace where he remained as if no war had taken place between his Government and the English."(5) The truth was that the Khedive and his entourage were delighted at the bombardment and the very next day sought British help, asking the Admiral for advice on what steps to

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(1) From 'Urābī's written instructions, Cf. Broadley, op.cit., P.123,124.
(2) Ibid., P.125.
(3) Ibid.
(4) For details of the Bombardment cf. Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, 333-376; Blunt, Secret 357-376; Naqqash, op.cit. V.55-122 Rothstein, op.cit., p.p.207-222; Riḍā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh, vol. i, P.P. 251-253; al Waqā'i', 12 and 13.7.1882.
(5) 'Urabi's written instructions, as quoted by Broadley, op.cit., P.126.

take.[1] "This was the Prince", wrote an Englishman, "who had given precise orders to resist the action of the British fleet and to proclaim war throughout the country".[2]

The British bombardment of Alexandria may justly be deplored. It was undertaken in complete disregard of the Conference at Constantinople. Neither the Sultan, the Powers, nor any legal authority gave them the right to crush the first Egyptian national movement. The British action was not actuated by any force majeure; neither were the Egyptian fortifications suddenly strengthened, nor did they in any way constitute a real danger to the British fleet. Not only had the Egyptians no intention of blocking the entrances of the port, the very fact that the Egyptian forts were unable to resist more effectively shows how little real reason for the bombardment there was. All it in fact did was to aggravate the crisis, and pave the way for a military action by England, independent of her diplomatic activity at the conference, the whole object of which was thereby stultified.[3]

In England itself news of the bombardment found a mixed reception. In the House of Commons, Sir Wilfred Lawson - Liberal - declared that England had made war on Egypt without

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(1) Cf. Muṣṭafā, Ph.D., op.cit., P.511-512.
(2) Newman, Major E.W.Polson, Great Britain in Egypt, P.P. 107-108 (London 1927).
(3) Muṣṭafā, Ph.D., Thesis, op.cit., P.466-467.

just cause and provocation; that the government had thrown over the concert of Europe and acted with fatal precipitation; that it was no concern of England; if the Egyptians preferred a "military despotism" or any other form of government; and that the despatch of the British fleet to Alexandria had provoked the "massacre" and produced all the evil consequences that had since ensued.(1)

On the day of the bombardment after the shelling of Alexandria, the Prime Minister, Rāghib Pasha, telegraphed to various places in the country, announcing that war had been declared between Egypt and England, and that consequently the whole country was placed under martial law.(2) Ya'qūb Pasha Sāmī, the Under-Secretary of War, immediately invited all his colleagues to the War Office, the Under-Secretaries as well as the heads of the different departments, and notified them of the developments. Subsequently, an Executive Council was formed, with Ya'qūb Pasha Sāmī as president. This Council was called al-Majlis al-'Urfī and its members administered the country during the whole war.(3)

Most leaders of the National Party went to Alexandria on the day of the bombardment; among them was Nadīm. It was

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(1) The House of Commons of July 12th,1882, quoted by Muṣṭafā, Ph.D.,P.467-8.
(2) Cf. al-Waqā'i', 12.7.1882.
(3) Cf.Broadley, op.cit.,P.P.213,505-507. For names of the members of the Council cf. Broadley,op.cit.,P.P.222-223 al-Waqā'i', 23.7.1882.

afternoon when he reached the city of his birth, now partly in ruins, half-destroyed by British shells, deserted by most of its inhabitants. Everywhere he was faced by desolation and despair. Roaming about, he encountered al-Bārūdī Pasha and invited the ex-Premier and Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh to spend the night at his fathers house.(1) The next morning,(2) Nadīm and his guests joined 'Urābī at his headquarters.

On the 13th of July, having been abandoned both by the army and the people, the Khedive refused to follow the advice of his ministers and Darwīsh Pasha to return to the Capital of his country to conduct the war, but went, early in the day, to Ra's al-Tīn Palace and surrendered to the British landing troops. The British Admiral immediately issued a proclamation in which he declared his intention of maintaining order as a Military Governor by authorisation of the Khedive.(3) "It was not", said 'Urābī," according to our law, either permissible or fitting for the ruler of a country to act thus, and side with the nation that was fighting against us, and which he himself, in solemn council, had decided to resist. The laws of man and the word of God forbid such dishonourable acts; and such a man cannot be a Moslem, therefore he ought not to rule over Moslems."(4) The

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(1) Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol, vii, P.P.277,315,321,322.
(2) Cf.Ibid., P.322.
(3) Muṣṭafā, Ph.D., op.cit., P.515; Al-Tā'if, 28.7.1882; Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol, v, P.120.
(4) 'Urābī as quoted by Broadley, op.cit., P.130.

situation was then extremely grave, for the country had practically lost its sovereign at the beginning of the battle.

On the very same day, Nadīm was sent by 'Urābī on a special mission to Cairo. It is not hard to guess at the miracles of hard work and zealous service he had to perform while on this errand; he had indeed to sharpen his tongue and pen to support the cause of his country at this time of crisis. His first task in Cairo was to inform the officials of the retreat of the army from Alexandria to Kafr-al-Dawwār, where it was intended to establish a line of defence.(1) It was presumably 'Urābī's intention and part of Nadīm's mission to urge the nation to support the war.

At this critical moment in Egypt's history some officials and Pashas, who were in Alexandria, and were led by Sulṭān Pasha, sided with the Khedive. "Those who bore a grudge against the nationalists seized this chance of joining the Khedive's camp; the Circassians, condemned in April,(2) returned to Alexandria to place their services at the Khedive's disposal."(3)

On the 17th of July, 'Urābī received a telegram from Tawfīq stating that he was the cause of the war in continuing to fortify the harbour of Alexandria, that peace had been made between the Khedive and England, and ordering him to stop all

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(1) Cf. Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol.vii, P.138.
(2) See above PP. 227-230.
(3) Muṣṭafā, Ph,D., op.cit., P.515.

fortification and come at onee to Alexandria.[1] 'Urābī, for his part, in a reply to the Khedive's telegram,[2] refuted his accusations and reminded him of the council presided over by him on the 11th, of July. 'Urābī also pointed to the fact that the Khedive's having sided with the opposite force had had an adverse effect on the people and "I concluded from this", said 'Urābī, "that he /i.e. the Khedive/ was a prisoner, and that he had been induced to send for me in order that I should be arrested."[3] Without delay, 'Urābī sent to Ya'qūb Sāmī informing him of what was taking place and inviting him to convene a general assembly of the leading personalities of the country, who would review the whole situation, and decide what should be done with regard to the Khedive and for the good of the country.[4] In the evening of that very day there assembled at the Ministry of the Interior in Cairo about 400 men, among whom were the leaders of the National Party who were in Cairo at that time, including Nadīm , the heads of departments, governors of provinces, notables, 'Ulamā', divines and employees, in short, representatives of all the classes of the population, the Shaykh of Islam, the Jewish Rabbi, the Muftī, the Qādī[5] the

the Shaykh of Islam, the Jewish Rabbi, the Muftī, the Qādī the

(1) For the complete text of the telegram cf.al-Waqā'i',18.7.1882.
(2) For the complete text of 'Urābī's reply,cf,ibid.
(3) 'Urābī as quoted by Broadley,op.cit.,P.130.
(4) For complete text of 'Urābī's telegram to Ya'qūb Sāmī, cf. al-Waqā'i',18.7.1882.
(5) For details cf.al-Waqā'i'.20.7.1882.

communications between the Khedive and 'Urābī and between the latter and Ya'qūb Sāmī, " a great number of those present, especially the 'Ulemā and ecclesiastics, were indignant at the conduct of the Khedive, and wished immediately to depose him, in accordance with strict Muslim Law."(1) 'Akkūsh Pasha, a warm partisan of Tawfīq, without attempting to attenuate the gravity of the facts alleged against the Khedive, expressed the opinion that further inquiry was advisable.(2) Nadīm, led by his highly emotional disposition and his anxiety to support the cause of the nation, must have thought that 'Akkūsh Pasha's comment was derisive and apt to create doubts among the assembly as to the authenticity of the news from Alexandria . "He had hardly finished speaking when Nadīm forestalled him and said in a harsh voice: 'If you are not convinced by the evidence of three hundred thousand men, women and childrem, driven from their homes, refugees who possess nothing but themselves, tramping about in cities and villages, so distraught that fathers and mothers forsake their children and the brother his brother, as if it were th. day of resurrection and they were driven to the last judgment, if all this is not enough, what evidence will satisfy you? ' Nadīm went on with his speech, while the assembly was silent as if 'birds were perched on their heads".(3) There was

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(1) From a letter by Aḥmad Rif'at to Broadley, op.cit., P.503; cf. also Muṣṭafā, Ph.D., op.cit., P.P.516,517.
(2) From a letter by Aḥmad Rif'at to Broadley, op.cit., P.503,504; cf. also Tārīkh Miṣr, P.71.
(3) Samīr, op.cit., P.P.19,20; cf. also Tārīkh Miṣr, P.71.

no room for argument after Nadīm's speech, for all the doubts had been dispelled. The assembly finally decided to send a deputation to Alexandria[1] to request the Khedive and the ministers to return to the capital and to resume their functions there without, however, suspending the preparations for the War.[2]

Having thus swayed the opinion of the General Assembly entirely in favour of 'Urābī, Nadīm devoted himself to the most important task of all, namely to the popularisation of the Holy War throughout the country. It is obvious that he had no time now to concern himself with the publication of Al-Tā'if, so many urgent duties were claiming his attention. This accounts for the three weeks' break in the publication of the periodical. Nadim conducted campaigns all over Egypt to exhort the people to make an all-out effort to defend their country from the invaders.[3] He himself addressed the people in the mosques, in the roads, in the fields, at rural and urban gatherings, proclaiming the Holy War, reciting the Qur'ān, and Zajal, urging them to go and defend their country by every means imaginable. "Succour, Succour, O People of Egypt" said Nadīm in one of his speeches. "O, heroism of Islam! Stir our men! Our country's glory will be perpetuated by this war. Ye sons of Egypt! These are the days of battle, these are the days of

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(1) For the names of the members of the deputation cf, Al-Ṭā'if, 28.7.1882.
(2) For details, cf, Ibid, Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.P.395-398; Broadley, op.cit., P.P.131, 214, 215, 221, 503, 504; Muṣṭafā, Ph.D., op.cit., P.517. 518.
(3) For names of the orators and for some of the speeches and poems; cf, Maqqāsh, op.cit., vol. v, P.P.136, 193, 198.

struggle, these are the days to defend the country, these are the days to defend her honour, these are the days for the sons of Egypt to be carried away by enthusiasm, to display their ardour, to ride on the back of their zeal and to saddle their courage, to be carried away by their intrepidity to make war on the enemy of Egypt, the enemy of the Arabs, the enemy of Islam-the government of England. May God confound her and push her malice down her throat! "[1]

There emerges from the texts of certain speeches of Nadīm[2] which fall into this period and form part of his war propaganda that he concentrated on three main issues. What he chiefly aimed at was: to endeavour finally to discredit the Khedive and his few remaining supporters; to attack England the invader of Egypt; to urge and incite the people, by fiery harangues and spirited and persuasive exhortations, to join the Holy War.

Bitterly attacking England and the Khedive, Nadīm said in one of his speeches[3]: "Yonder England, Yonder savage country, that tries by fair means and foul to swallow up all Muslim countries in turn ... When Egypt's turn came, England began spreading a net of intrigues over our nation, but God decreed that our country had men who scented the deceit in England's

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(1) Al-Tā'if, 28.7.1882; The Times, 5.9.1882.
(2) They were recorded later in Al-Tā'if.
(3) Al-Tā'if, 28.7.1882.

policy, and then drew the sword of determination and unmasked the English plots and denounced the real nature of the Khedive and his surreptitious agreement with England to deliver our country into their hands ... that is why England flew into a passion and her heart burned with rage at the patriotic men who thwarted her purpose. The spark of evil ignited their hearts /of the English/ and drove their ships toward Alexandria with the hatred of the Arabs of which their hearts were full aiming to destroy the pillars of Islam and open the way to Al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn /the two Holy Mosques in Mecca and Medina/.

"This, O sons of Egypt, is the nation that is fighting yours, who has done her no wrong, but wanted to defend the way to the Holy Mosques from her enemy, England. Fight them desperately; 'let them find firmness in you; and know that God is with those who fear Him.'(1) They are people who have broken God's covenant and oath and plotted to expel the rulers from their country.(2) 'Do ye fear them? Nay, it is God whom ye should more justly fear, if ye believe, so make war on them, by your hands will God chastise them, and will put them to shame, and will give you victory over them, heal the breasts of believers'...(3) 'Go ye forth whether equipped lightly or heavily, and strive and struggle, with your goods and your persons, in the cause of God. That is the best for you, if ye (but) knew.'(4)

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(1) Qur'ān, Sūrat al-Tawbah, 'Āyah, No.123.
(2) Compare with Qur'ān, Sūrat al-Tawbah, 'Āyah, No.13.
(3) Qur'ān, 'Āyah, No.13,14, Sūrat al-Tawbah.
(4) Ibid., 'Āyah, No.41.

"O people of Egypt! Truly, the English are unclean; so let them not after this act of theirs, approach your country.[1] 'And if ye fear weakness, unite and co-operate', then 'God will grant ye victory! Truly God is strong and exalted in might.'[2]

"You are not doing your duty or protecting your land, if you desist from fighting the treacherous English, 'How (can you refrain) seeing that if they get an advantage over you, they respect not in you the ties either of kinship or of covenant?'[3] they will 'slaughter your sons and let your women-folk live (for their pleasure). Therein was a tremendous trial from your Lord!'[4]

"O people of Egypt! The English say: Egypt is the fortress and the key to the Arab countries, and who conquers it will easily take the rest. Rise to fight! Or ye will lose your religion and your country and the word of England will be high and yours will be low ...[5]"

Inciting the nation to support the Holy War, Nadīm said in one of his speeches[6]: "O people of Egypt! To every man is a term appointed; 'when their term is reached, they shall neither retard nor advance it an hour.'[7] 'The one who does not die by the

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(1) Compare with Qur'ān, Surat al-Tawbah, 'Āyah No.28.
(2) Compare with Qur'ān, Sūrat al-Ḥajj, 'Āyah No.40.
(3) Qur'ān, Sūrat, al-Tawbah, 'Āyah No.8.
(4) Qur'ān, Sūrat al-Baqarah, 'Āyah, No.49.
(5) Al-Tā'if, 28.7.1882.
(6) Recorded later in Al-Tā'if, 3.8.1882.
(7) Qur'ān, Sūrat Yūnus, 'Āyah, No.49.

sword dies by other means. The reasons are many but the end is one.'

"O people of Egypt! One who delays in the cause of God is npt equal to the one who strives and fights in the cause of God! 'Not equal are those believers who sit (at home) and receive no hurtt and those who strive and fight in the path of God. They are the people who will achieve (salvation) Their Lord doth give them glad tidings of Mercy from himself, of his good pleasure, and of gardens for them wherein are the lights that endure; they will dwell therein forever. Verily, verily, in God's presence is a reward, the greatest of all' "(1)

"O people of Egypt! 'Strive in God's cause as ye ought to strive'(2) to preserve this glorious religion and to stop the enemy of the Muslims who wants to conquer your country, or else there will be a few steps between him and the Holy City, the symbol of Islam, to profane it with his horses and his men. In all this, your enemy is aided in his purpose by the Khedive who has sold the nation for the sake of the English and exchanged the Muslim countries against English protection for himself! If ye get an advantage over him, respect not in him the ties either of kinship or of the covenant, truly he is the loser".

The ideas propagated by Nadīm were received by the country with enthusiasm and were passed from village to village and from town to town. They inflamed the peoples' hearts with

(1) Qur'ān, Sūrat al-Nisā', 'Āyah No.95.
(2) Qur'ān, Sūrat al-Ḥajj, 'Āyah No.78.

patriotism and religious zeal, and provided a powerful stimulus to people to exert their strength to the utmost in support of 'Urābī's national resistance. Therefore "the love of the whole Egyptian population for 'Urābī /as a symbol of Egyptian nationalism/, the defender of his country and the protector of Islam, knew no bounds. It extended to the very gamins of the street. Little children and grown up people shouted alike 'Allāh yunṣurak yā 'Urābī'."(1)

On his tour, Nadīm composed several popular rhymes with refrains which became so popular that they were on everybody's lips.(2) One of them was an invective against Tawfīq, holding him up to severe ridicule:

"
Yā Tawfīq yā wish 'innamlih,
Mīn 'allak ti'mil dil'amlih! "

"
Oh, Tawfīq, thou ant-faced one,
Who told thee to do what thou hast done! "

Another of these famous refrains was actually a prayer for the defeat of the English, a powerful outcry to God:

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(1) From a letter by Aḥmad Rif'at to Broadley, cf. Broadley op.cit., P.P. 502,503; cf. also, Muṣṭafā, Ph.D., op.cit., P. 439.

(2) My conversation with Shaykh M.A.Ibrāhīm, op.cit.

"
Yā Rabbinā yā 'Azīz,
Kubbah tākhud lingilīz "

"
O, God ! O, Almighty !
May plague mow down the English ! "

It was one of the effects of Nadīm's campaign that the name "Tawfīq" lost its popularity in the country and was entirely abandoned; instead, huge numbers of new-born boys were called 'Urabi.(1)

It emerges with absolute and incontrovertible clarity from all the extant speeches and articles of Nadīm that his interpretation of a Holy War against Britain stressed, not the conflict between Muslims and Christians, but that between believers and infidels who had been untrue to the tenets of their own religion, renegades who, in the opinion of the Copts, had disobeyed the teachings of Christ. There is no trace of religious fanaticism to be found anywhere, for confessional differences are never emphasized. On the contrary, as has already been stated, he always called on the nation, Muslims, Jews and Christians, to live together as brothers, regardless of religious differences; besides, both the Coptic Patriarch and the Jewish Rabbi ranged themselves wholeheartedly with 'Urābī

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(1) My conversation with Shaykh M.A.Ibrāhīm, op.cit.

and the cause of the nation, and many Copts and Jews contributed to and fought in the Holy War.(1) In fact, " the Egyptian is neither malicious nor fanatical."(2)

Meanwhile, the British representatives both at Constantinople and at Alexandria were instructed to insist on the official denunciation of 'Urābī as a rebel. The Sultan equivocated, but Tawfīq, hesitant at first, finally, dismissed 'Urābī, appointing 'Umar Luṭfī in his place,(3) branding 'Urābī as a rebel "in a document of an ambiguous and unsatisfactory character"(4) which was published in Alexandria. Moreover, Tawfiq asked Colvin to invite the British authorities to begin action against the Egyptian army without delay.(5)

When the delegates of the General Assembly of Cairo proceeded to Alexandria and in turn, conferred with the Khedive and the ministers, they learned that he had publicly condemned 'Urābī and authorised the British to fight the Egyptians on his behalf. On their way back, they informed 'Urābī that a Muslim had deceived Muslims, and therefore the Khedive was no longer one of them.(6)

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(1) This a refutation of the wholly unsubstantiated charges made by the British press at that time against Nādim and his colleagues which was plainly pnly an attempt to influence international opinion against Egypt.
(2) Broadley, op.cit.,P.206.
(3) That is how the Khedive fulfilled the promise given to 'Umar Luṭfī, for supporting him, especially by inflaming the Alexandria riot, cf. Broadley, op.cit.,P.P.89,93 and 94.
(4) Broadley,op.cit.,P.94;for the full text of the document,cf., Ibid.
(5) Cf. Muṣṭafā, Ph.D.,op.cit., P.P. 513,514.
(6) Ibid.,P.P. 517,518; cf.also Broadley op.cit.,P.131.

In his telegram to the president of the Majlis, informing him of the unexpected action of the Khedive, 'Urābī asked to know the wishes of the country with respect to the course he should pursue. The Majlis decided that another "general assembly" should be called, more numerous than its predecessor, and composed of representatives of every creed and sect and every class and sector of the population. It was also to be attended by the princes in Cairo, and the heads of the religious bodies. There were to be 500 persons from all over the country to make the meeting representative of the opinion (1) of the whole of Egypt which was already greatly influenced by Nadīm's campaign. When the session took place the Assembly voted unanimously, in support of 'Urābī. The resolution was that, as the Khedive had violated the Firmans and the Muslim Divine Law, he was no longer capable of giving orders, and that 'Urābī should be confirmed in his post of Minister of War, and entrusted with the task of national defence. (2)

The decision arrived at was regarded as the termination of the palace intrigues which had brought such incalculable mischief to Egypt during the previous years. (3) Prince Kāmil, a relative of the Khedive, is reported as having stated towards the end of the meeting: "For us, the Khedive today no longer

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(1) For details, cf, Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.P.402-408; al-Waqā'i', 31.7.1882; Broadley, op.cit., P.P.224-225; Muṣṭafā, Ph.D., op. cit., P.P.517-518.

(2) From a letter by Aḥmad Rif'at to Broadley, cf. Broadley, op. cit., P.505; cf. also Muḥammad 'Abduh, as quoted by Riḍā, Tārikh al-Ustādh, vol. i, P.255.

(3) Ibid.

exists. We would recognise him if he were here, as the head of his government and his country, but where is he? He is either the prisoner or the ally of a foreign power which has invaded Egypt" The assembly applauded these words as being in strict accordance with its religious and civic duties.(1)

A Fatwā was proclaimed by the 'Ulamā' of al-Azhar stating that the Khedive had gone over to the enemy and was in consequence to be regarded as a renegade and unfit to rule.(2) On the other hand, 'Urābī was now, in the eyes of the Egyptians, nothing less than the servant and defender of the country, the representative of five millions of people who were resisting the invasion of their fatherland by a foreign army. Even persons once opposed to his views now shared the general opinion.(3)

When his tour of the country was over, and its purpose attained, Nadīm joined 'Urābī at his headquarters at King 'Uthmān off Kafr-al-Dawwār in the official capacity of a war correspondent of his newspaper, Al-Ṭā'if,(4) whose publication had been resumed on July 28, 1882.(5) However, it is borne out by fact that Nadīm did not confine himself to this rôle, but was acting as 'Urābī's counsellor as before; he is even reported

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(1) From a letter by Aḥmad Rif'at to Broadley, cf. Broadley, op.cit. P.505; cf.also Muḥammad 'Abduh, as quoted by Riḍā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh, vol.i, P.255.

(2) For the complete text of the Fatwa; cf.Broadley, op.cit., P.P. 176,177.

(3) Aḥmad Rif'at as quoted by Broadley. op.cit., 215,216.

(4) Perhaps it is a corruption of the Turkish Genç.

(5) Cf. Tārīkh Miṣr, op.cit., P.74; 'Abduh Taṭawwur, op.cit., P.129; Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol. vii, P.P.29.30.

to have been asked by 'Urābī to express his opinion and give advice on certain matters of the utmost importance,[1] and even on some military problems.[2]

Nadīm's nation-wide campaign was immediately fruitful: the aid and support he had solicited materialised as soon as he reached 'Urābī's headquarters. The whole country rose like one man to support the war. "Some gave all they possessed, others the half, but all gave some mite to the national cause... The war was supported both morally and materially, and nothing was wanting on the part of the Egyptians to defend their fatherland ... Such a spirit of patriotism and display of zeal had had no precedent in the history of Islam."[3] All races and creeds rushed to join the war with enthusiasm, rendering all the assistance in their power; the Jews as well as the Copts did their utmost to support 'Urābī. They were loud in their criticism of the British for, as the Coptic Patriarch is reported to have said, Christianity means peace for people of good will, not wilful aggression against another country. Egyptian opinion, Muslim and Christian alike, saw in the English merely aggressors and 'infidels'."[4] I saw " says Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh " the people going to war quite willingly, whether

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(1) Cf. Naqqāsh, op.cit.,vol.v, P.248.
(2) Cf. Tārīkh Miṣr, P.76; See also below PP. 306-309.
(3) 'Urābī's written instructions, as quoted by Broadley, op.cit., P.P.132-133; cf.also Naqqāsh, op.cit.,vol.v, P.135; Riḍā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh, vol.i, P.P.255,263.
(4) Cf. Muhammad Anīs, op.cit., P.62.

peasants or Bedouins, and showing the utmost eagerness to fight the English ... The youths of Cairo used to parade the town at night, singing songs in praise of 'Urābī, and whenever the subject of war was mentioned at any meeting, a general prayer was offered for the success of our arms."(1) According to Mc.Cullogh,(2) "apart from the Khedive and his mother hardly a single male or female member of the reigning family had failed to send his or her offering of money or provisions to the camps, or his or her laudatory telegrams of letter to the leader of the people. I saw all these, I even copied some of them."(3) In every mosque and in every house in Egypt fervent prayers were daily offered up for the success of the army.(4)

On the whole, it can be stated that Nadīm's campaign had succeeded in penetrating to the obscurest corners of the country and reached all classes of the population from the princes and princesses down to the street urchins. The energy, zeal and enthusiasm displayed by the nation, in answer to his efforts had to be seen to be believed.(5)

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(1) Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh, as quoted by Broadley op.cit.,P.233.
(2) Arabic scholar and employee of the Egyptian Post Office; was in charge of the postal service in 'Urābī's tent during the war; cf.Broadley,op.cit.,P.183.
(3) The reference is to a Telegram from Prince Ibrāhīm,an uncle of the Khedive to 'Urābī at Kafr-al-Dawwār; for the full text cf.Broadley,op.cit.,P.P.183,184.
(4) Aḥmad Rif'at, as quoted by Broadley,op.cit.,P.217.
(5) Cf. al-Waqā'i' from12.7.1882 onwards; Al-Tā'if,from 28.8.1882 onwards.

Fully aware of the bitterness of the resentment against her in the Muslim countries and of 'Urābī's indisputable championship as a defender of Islam, Britain constantly exerted pressure again on the Sultan to brand 'Urābī as a rebel as Tawfīq had done, which would deprive him of his legitimate position in Egypt and the Muslim world. The Sultan was plainly confused and perturbed by the warnings he received from the 'Ulamā'and the partisans of Pan-Islamism that co-operation with Britain against the "defender of Islam" would inevitably produce a bad effect on the mass of the Egyptians as well as the Syrians and the rest of the Arabs.(1) He was perturbed not merely by the appeal of the 'Ulamā' of Egypt, but also by the bitter reaction of all the Muslim countries to the bombardment of Alexandria. In Constantinople, the preachers in the mosques were abusing Britain in violent terms and inciting the people to take up arms in the defence of Islam;(2) in Tunis, the Turkish newspapers exalted the name and the fame of Aḥmad 'Urābī, "his success was prayed for in the mosques and the shrines of holy Kairwan,..'Can it be,' whispered one Arab to another, 'that at last a Saviour has arisen in Islam?' "(3) All over the Muslim world, from the

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(1) Cf. The Times, 21.8.1882. Muṣṭafā Ph.D., op.cit.,P.528.
(2) Cf. Muṣṭafā, Ph.D., op.cit., P.P.528,529.
(3) Broadley, op.cit., P.P.17.18.

Atlantic to Arabia and Syria and even India, and from the Sudan to Anatolia, Gallipoli and Macedonia, the bombardment of Alexandria was viewed with deep anxiety. Europeans in general, and the British in particular, became the object of a deep hatred. Everywhere there awoke sympathy for 'Urābī and his movement. He acquired, not only in Egypt but in the estimation of the Muslim world at Istanbul and elsewhere, the character and position of a champion of the rights of Islam against the aggression of the Western Powers.(1)

In view of the vehement reaction in favour of 'Urābī all over the Muslim world, the Sultan at first simply did not dare to issue a proclamation disowning 'Urābī; he even gave him some encouragement,(2) which was, in fact, a victory of 'Urābī over Tawfīq. Thus, "the proclamation which stamped 'Urābī as a rebel issued by the Khedive had not the slightest effect on the nation."(3)

In the Egyptian army headquarters, Nadīm's activities by far exceeded the duties of war correspondent and counsellor of 'Urābī. It is borne out by fact that he carried on his shoulders a burden which would have weighed down any man with less zest and vitality. Nowadays several experts, versed in several distinctly separate fields of activity, would be assigned to cope with a comparable task. His first duty was to

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(1) Muṣṭafā, Ph.D., op.cit., P.439; cf,also Broadley,op.cit,P.P. 231,232.

(2) For the letters exchanged between the Sultan and 'Urābī cf. Broadley,op.cit,P.P.165-174; Al-Ṭā'if, 28.7.1882.

(3) Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol. v, P.135.

persevere in the struggle against the enemy who was trying to occupy the country and, by spurring the people on to fight and to support materially the "Holy Islamic Army"; his second, to denounce and discredit, with still greater emphasis than before, the renegade Khedive and his supporters who made every attempt, by numerous intrigues, to discourage the Egyptians and induce them to lay down their arms. In the third place, he had to paralyse the injurious effects of foreign propaganda conducted by the enemy press and to counteract the corrosive action of the meretricious sector of the native press in Alexandria which, sponsored by the Khedive, was attacking 'Urābī as a rebel; in the fourth, he had to stir up the feelings of the rest of the Muslim world, and impel them, by forceful persuasion, to support Egypt against Britain. Next, there was the congenial though not less onerous task of watching over the army's morale by inciting the soldiers to fight. Finally, as the only journalist on the battlefield, he had to report on the course of fighting and comment on it from his own specific and original angle. To satisfy urgent public demand, Al-Ṭā'if began to appear almost every day, and its circulation increased considerably.

Nadīm must have known that though the nation had decided to disregard the Khedive's orders, he was still, from the formal point of view of the Sultan's Firmans, the sovereign of the country, a point which his supporters never failed to stress in their intrigues and proclamations.

As regards the British, Nadīm firmly believed that their imperial interests were disguised as benevolent attempts to protect the Khedive and maintain peace in the country. They even extorted from Tawfīq the right to deputise for him in crushing what they called "'Urābī's mutiny."(1) Thus he, the chief of propaganda of the national movement, found himself faced by the necessity of waging a war of nerves against two main groups of adversaries; the Khedive and his supporters on the one hand, and the British on the other. In this war of nerves, he often employed a method, which, on the face of it, must seem strange and somewhat out of character in a man who professed convictions based on a high moral standard and a passion for justice: he resorted to a campaign of rumours concerning their honour, their character, their moral conduct, their observance of their religion, intending to make them appear petty, hateful and despicable. He pictured them as sacrilegiously profaning the precepts of religion, the laws of humanity and any code of honour; he even went to the length of publishing a special supplement to Al-Ṭā'if(2) entitled "The Deeds of the Khedive" in which the latter's surreptitious plotting with the British before and during the war, which resulted in his selling his country for the sake of his own safety, was made the focus of attention. As has already been stated, it was the strength of the Khedive's position that he was still the lawful sovereign of the country;

(1) Cf. Naqqāsh, op. cit., vol. v, pp. 204,205.
(2) Naqqāsh, op. cit., vol. vii, pp. 171,172; Cf. also Breadley, op. cit., p. 241.

in order to weaken it, Nadīm hastened to publish the news of the impending dethronement of Tawfīq by the Sultan in favour of Prince 'Abd al-Ḥalīm, and of the latter's prospective arrival in the country and accession to the Khedivial throne.(1) In this campaign which can be suitably termed "campaign of rumours", Nadīm used a method which is surprisingly modern by twentieth century criteria: the news he spreads, though exaggerated, is never entirely deprived of foundation, but the grain of truth contained in it is mostly magnified out of all proportion to render it more effective until it becomes a deadly weapon in the hand of this past-master of propaganda. The method was unfailing, first, because Nadīm presented his news in a form which did not admit of any doubt as to its truth, and secondly, because he knew the character of the Egyptian who is most sensitive on the point of honour and religion. It fulfilled its aim in mobilising the resentment of the people against England and the Khedive and his clique, and was so effective that it made it totally impossible for the Khedive to recover lost ground in the country without a show of force. The nation not only hated him, but, as mentioned above, passed judgment on him through the mouth of the 'Ulamā' who published Fatwas condemning him as a renegade. Nor did his agents escape the scorn of the nation. This war of nerves also fully reached its aim with regard to the British, for it impelled the nation to rise and

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(1) 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Pasha was Tawfīq's uncle. Other newspapers copied the news and spread it in the country. Cf. Al-Ṭā'if, 14 and 16.8.1882; also Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol.vii, P.P.266 and 305.

fight the invader in the name of all they deemed sacred: country, honour and religion. The following characteristic news items published in Al-Ṭā'if are highly illustrative of the tone of the whole campaign:

"A woman returned to Alexandria with her virgin daughter in response to the Khedive's order.(1) At the East Gate, they were arrested and the girl assaulted and raped by the English soldiers. The woman brought her afflicted daughter to Kafr-al-Dawwār ['Urābī's headquarters].(2)"

"It has been reported that 'Abd al-Majīd al-Biṭāsh(3) keeps company with Aḥmad Pasha Ra'fat(4) in roaming the streets. Whenever they notice anyone they dislike, they denounce him to the English to be shot! O, Egyptians, marvel at the deeds of one of your chosen representatives; if a man has sold his honour for a mess of potage or a word of praise, he will find it easy to kill his brothers for his own selfish aims."(5)

"The English rob the people of Alexandria. They search every house, taking away all the firearms and knives, and do not even leave a kitchen knife. Soon there will be, in every street, a knife hanging on a chain for communal use! And this is

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(1) What he is referring to is the Khedive's proclamation ordering the citizens of Alexandria to return to their homes, assuring them that there was no need to fear the British.
(2) Al-Ṭā'if, 28.7.1882.
(3) An ex-member of the National Assembly.
(4) The Prefect of Alexandria.
(5) Al-Ṭā'if, 3.8.1882.

the civilisation Tawfīq praises so highly! "[1]

"Sharīf Pasha is shedding tears and biting his nails and is well-nigh distraught for grief. He was ill advised to fraternise with the English, and to concur with them on the Organic Law which has brought such disaster upon the nation, and for the sake of which the war has broken out."[2]

"The English have closed the mosques under the pretext that people gather there, not to pray, but to plot against them. Whom are they praying for: 'Urābī or the Khedive? ! "[3]

"It has been said that the Khedive has made an attempt to escape on al-Mahrūsah /The Royal Yacht/, but has been apprehended and brought back to his palace by the English who want him to remain there as their puppet, and forbid him to go back to sea."[4]

"Tawfīq Pasha has ordered the Egyptian soldiers at Muntazah police station to be shot; he has also ordered eight local citizens to be hanged by their necks on the gates of Alexandria; he seems to hope that this will be a deterrent."[5]

"The English have exterminated a number of citizens of Alexandria; they have ripped open their bellies and filled them with unslaked lime and thrown them into a pit! And this is what Tawfīq Pasha calls "peaceful aims."[6]

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(1) Al-Tā'if, 3.8.1882.
(2) Ibid., 4.8.1882.
(3) Ibid., 7.8.1882.
(4) Ibid.
(5) Ibid.
(6) Ibid., 14.8.1882.

"The Telegraph wire between Ra's al-Tīn palace and Army headquarters has failed. We are puzzled by the strange coincidence by which even inanimate matter loses in strength in the proximity of the Khedive."(1)

"Some of the new arrivals from Alexandria report that Sulṭān Pasha has been shot by the English - it seems to have emerged later, however, that it was his servant who was the victim, shot while he was taking off Sulṭān Pasha's shoes ... Sulṭān Pasha is merely suffering from shock ..."(2)

"We have ascertained, through a private source from Port Said, that the English who were killed and who were buried after the bombardment of Alexandria amounted to 243 not 5, as Seymour reported in his telegram, and that 111 wounded were sent to Cyprus. The whole country agrees with 'Urābī and blames the Khedive."(3)

"Two of the three ironclads anchored of Aboukir have foundered and are engulfed in the sand. The crews escaped when they saw it was impossible to save the ship. They are of the largest ironclads, and may God cause the others soon to follow them."(4)

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(1) Al-Ṭā'if, 16.8.1882.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Al-Ṭa'if, 28.7.1882, quoted by The Times, 5.9.1882.
(4) Al-Ṭa'if, 28.8.1882; The Times, 5.9.1882.

Neat skill in the presentation of facts, deft handling of the situation, ruthless sarcasm in his criticism of the adversary whoever he may be, are characteristic of all these articles and anecdotes.

As regards the British press campaign against Egypt, the Egyptian Press Department used to translate news items and articles referring to Egypt and pass them on to Nadīm to be dealt with by virtue of his position as chief propagandist of the movement; thus nearly every hostile piece of news was contradicted and rectified in Al-Tā'if.(1) In one of these refutations of false reports sent from Egypt to Europe and published in the hostile press, Nadīm said: "The correspondent of the Daily News in Port Said is sending untrue reports to his newspaper; in five of the telegrams he sent and which we have seen he has stated that Muslims massacre Christians and plunder their property; of course, facts disprove the news. His aim is plainly to agitate against Egypt in support of his own country. Fearing that his country might find herself alone in the fire of war, he wants to incite Europe to help her. We are used to his misrepresentations; Egypt neither blames nor exhorts him; his country is the invader, and he has to do his duty by her, even if he earns his living not in England but in Egypt, and has enriched himself, plundering Egyptian revenue."(2)

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(1) Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol. vii, P.265; 'Abduh, Taṭawwur, P.130; Broadley, op.cit., P.P.239-240.

(2) Al-Tā'if, 3.8.1882.

When The Times put forward the suggestion that Britain should undertake the responsibility for the maintenance of peace in Egypt without the participation of the Porte, claiming that Egypt should be placed under British protection, of England, and the Havas Agency telegraphed the news to Egypt,(1) Nadīm rejected this claim with violent indignation. "England is at the root of the disaster that has befallen Egypt: she began with plots against her liberty ... subsequently, she sent warships to Alexandria on military manoeuvres to provoke the Egyptians ... thirdly, her agents fomented unrest among the /British/ colonists, which culminated in the Alexandria riot in June ... Finally, the British wrecked Alexandria by their shells. ... We have never yet heard it said that 'to wreck' means to 'maintain peace' ... And even if it were a question of maintaining peace, why should England feel called upon to do it? There is no such relationship between England and Egypt as would justify the claim ... As regards putting Egypt under English protection as the best way of solving the Egyptian problem, this is nonsense and delusion, more out or reach than the stars. All Egyptians, however different their social status, education and religion may be, have become one heart, ready for one act. They sacrifice their lives and their property to preserve their country for themselves."(2)

(1) Al-Ṭā'if, 3.8.1882.
(2) Ibid.

Especially effective was his counterattack against the already mentioned rather sordid section of the native press, founded and patronised by the Khedive. Here Nadīm surpassed himself again in the skill and vehemence of acrimonious satire, and excelled in terse rejoinders; he fought the enemy to the utmost of his capacity, and obviously enjoyed the fight.

A special supplement to Al-Ṭā'if under the title Salīm wa Bishārah Taqlā wa Ṭawfīq Pasha[1] is often frankly defamatory in tone. In his fierce attack on the 'deposed' Khedive and his mercenary journalists[2], Nadīm does not shrink from libel. This supplement teems with "articles uncomplimentary to both the Khedive and the English."[3]

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(1) Shawām journalists with French passports, enjoying French protection and propagating French ideas, who supported the national movement in its early days, but emigrated to the Lebanon when the war broke out, and let themselves be persuaded by the Khedive to turn against 'Urābī; cf. Broadley, op.cit., P.139.

(2) Al-Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol. vii, P.P. 171,172,177; Ibrāhīm 'Abduh in Taṭawwur al-Ṣaḥāfah, maintains that the supplement was published on 8.Shawwāl 1299 A.H.(23.8.1882) but this is erroneous. The issue printed on this date is still extant and entirely unconnected with the supplement in question. Besides, Broadley states that it bore no date whatever; cf.'Abduh, Taṭawwur, P.129; Al-Ṭā'if, 8 Shawwāl, 1299 A.H; Broadley, op.cit., P.P. 240,241.

(3) Broadley, op.cit., P.241.

When his old friend, Shaykh Ḥamzah Fatḥallah,(1) became the editor of the newspaper al-I'tidāl founded in Alexandria to support the Khedive, and took up an attitude hostile to 'Urābī and his adherents, calling them "oppressors, ignorant men and rebels against the Sultan and his deputy,"(2) Nadīm showed no mercy to him in his savage criticism; a man who had betrayed his nation was his friend no longer. "We have received", wrote Nadīm, "the first issue of a despicable newspaper called al-I'tidāl which is published in Alexandria and edited by a stray pervert leading others astray, a renegade, Ḥamzah Fatḥallah ... In his writing, this wanton libertine has violated the religious commandments and the principles of civilised behaviour and the laws of humanity. He criticises the Egyptians and glorifies the English and their deeds. He lures the Egyptians with justice and civilisation which he attributes to the English ... He induces the people /to lend him their ear/ claiming to be one of the 'Ulamā' who, in fact, repudiate his faith. We therefore warn our brothers, the Egyptians, to boycott this rag of a newspaper which is printed on the press of the English fleet, and submitted to Seymour's approval before publication. Is it not strange to see a newspaper, Arabic in language and English in its contents, edited by a man who used to sit with the 'Ulamā' when they forgathered, clad in their

(1) He was Nadīm's fellow-student at al-Azhar and a close friend afterwards; cf, Samīr, op.cit., P.5; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, vol. ii, P.106.

(2) For some of his articles cf. Miṣr lil Miṣriyyīn, vol. v, P.186; cf. also Taṭawwur al Ṣaḥāfah, p.129, al-Thawrah, p.426.

robes and adorned with their insignia. He often read the Qur'ān on the highways professing fear of God; he also did his trick with the English, claiming for himself the title of 'Headmaster of the Islamic School', the school I myself founded in Alexandria. In fact, there is neither a school nor students there, for it has been wrecked by the bombardment; how could one be the headmaster of a non-existent school? With this title, he wanted to deceive the English, pretending to be influential with the Muslim community as the headmaster of their school. An impostor, he made them believe that his word is listened to and his call responded to ... His baseness and his sham ideas are notorious. These events have torn the mask from his face. May God put him to shame."(1)

Led by the desire to instil in the minds of the people a firm belief in the strength of their army, determined to represent it always as worthy of their backing and support, Nadīm does not confine himself to the publication of plain official reports from the battlefield, but intersperses these with comments in which he frequently exaggerates Egyptian victories and detracts from the importance of their defeats. Thus he writes in one of these comments, entitled Yawm al-Malḥamaḥ (The Day of the Battle): "Great were the numbers of the enemy, but the resistance of our vanguard was unyielding, and their firm stand that of lions until relief came... then

(1) Al-Ṭā'if, 4.8.1882.

what
they showed/the history of the national war will register as an example of boldness and fortitude. The lions of war launched an offensive against the rats of humanity ... Only one of our horses was killed."(1)

"When 'Urābī Pasha visited the wounded after the battle, they entreated him to allow them to return to the battlefield to fight the English again.'Blood is the colour of honour and the symbol of national victory', answered 'Urābī, 'I bless you for this honourable blood you have shed for the cause of the nation. This garment spattered with blood will be your record in life everlasting, and your family's claim to glory in this life and in after life.'"(2)

Nadīm never tires of picturing the glory of the Egyptian soldier in battle after battle. Thus the battle of August 19th is described under the title Al-Ma'ma'ah al-Thāniyah (The Second Battle);(3) "'that our forces they surely must conquer',(4) "Ye sons of Egypt! Listen to a tale told by an eye-witness; take it from one who has seen it happen. The English were unaware of the firmness of the Egyptians, and that is why they trespassed on our ground with their men and their horses, 'their intention is to extinguish God's Light (by blowing) with their mouth but God will complete (the revelation of) his Light, even though 'Tawfīq Pasha and his followers'may detest it.'(5)

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(1) Al-Tā'if, 7.8.1882.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Al-Tā'if,23.8.1882.
(4) Qur'ān,Sūrat al-Sāffāt 'Āyah No.173.
(5) Compare with Qur'ān, ibid.'Āyah No. 8.

The English have suffered various tortures at the hands of the Egyptians. On August 19, Hell refused a small number and only accepted a large number of them to be driven there to increase the fuel. When the hour of their destiny came, Death drove them in a cannon-ball under the command of the Duke of Kent ..."[1] After a detailed description of the English defeat, Nadīm continues: "An amazing thing: the civilian auxiliaries attacked the English with axes and clubs, and the Arab women gathered, singing songs of victory. We wished the Europeans had been here to see our men, like lions chasing deer, as if they were born to make war, and they would cut off their tongues with their own hands in punishment for the lies they spread about the Egyptians, saying that they would be frightened at the mere sight of hats - in fact, they found no heads underneath."[2]

In the third battle which began with the usual recitation from the Qur'ān by Nadīm, he said: "'We showed them sign after sign, each greater than its fellow'[3] 'Fight them, and God will punish them by our hands, cover them with shame, help you (to victory) over them, heal the breasts of Believers."[4] 'Those aggressors ... English who imagine themselves to be vultures, they underrated us, and that is why they have come with their men and guns; but the earth shook under them, and spat fire; 'and the earth throws up her burdens (from within)'[5],

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(1) Al-Ṭā'if, 23.8.1882.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Qur'ān, Sūrat al-Zukhruf, 'Āyah, No48, cf. Al-Ṭā'if, 24.8.1882.
(4) Qur'ān, Sūrat al-Tawbah, 'Āyah No.14.
(5) Qur'ān, Sūrat al-Zilzāl, 'Āyah No.2.

But the earth under us was quiet and we were /firm/ like mountains. Beguiled by their ironclads, they imagine that they can walk on earth therein; they forget that fish die on land, and smell of decay in the sun (1) ... "

Nadīm, the "Tyrtaeus of the revolution", reached the height of enthusiasm in the battle of Qanṭarat al-Qassāsin, (2) when he wrote: "'Truly God loves those who fight in his cause in battle array, as if they were a solid cemented structure' (3). On the day of the Qanṭarah the believers lined up in ranks so dense... that if mountains clashed with them they would shake and retreat or crumble. The day of the Qassasin and what will explain to thee what the day of the Qassāsīn is/it is a day the measure whereof is as fifty thousand years in your account (4) day. ' A day to the righteous, the Garden will be brought near, And to those straying in evil /the English/ the fire will be placed in full view' (5). A day in which death was pining for his sons, to embrace them and lay them on the desert ground with no other cover but the hooves of the horses ... A day on which Egyptians challenged them to perdition. You would see them "they will come forth-their eyes humbled-from (their) graves, (torpid) like locusts scattered abroad. Hastening, with eyes transfixed towards the Caller! - Hard is this Day! the unbelievers will say." (6)

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(1) Al-Ṭā'if., 24.8.1882.
(2) On 13 Shawwāl, 1299, A.H. (28.8.1882)
(3) Qur'ān, Sūrat al-Ṣaff, 'Āyah No.4.
(4) Compare with Qur'ān, Surat al-Ma'ārij, 'Āyah No.4.
(5) Qur'ān, Surat alShu'arā' 'Āyah, Nos.90,91.
(6) Qur'ān, Sūrat al-Qamar, 'Āyah, Nos.7,8;cf,Al-Ṭā'if,1,3.9.1882

Nadīm relates that when the Egyptian army was defeated in the Maskhūṭah battle,[1] "'Urābī Pasha swore that he would take revenge, and make the English taste the tortures of war, and then left Kafr-al-Dawwār for the front at Ra's al-Wādī." Nadīm, his inseparable companion, went with him, and continued to fill the columns of Al-Ṭā'if with his eyewitness accounts from the front-line which were actually hourly news bulletins from the battlefield, giving detailed descriptions of the course of the fight. Among them is a long poem, in which War itself is personified, and urges the Egyptians to fight:

"Sons of the Arabs! arise and fight!

"There is no room for cowards on Egyptian soil!

"I am the heaven of glory for the Muslims

"But for the English I am the hell of scorn

"Turn the handle of the quern, ye Egyptians, to crush the enemy;

"From today onwards there will be no peace for the aggressor

"Restore to this country its past glory

"The future of Egypt is now in your hands"[2]

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(1) When the British seized the Suez Canal and the eastern front was opened, Aḥmad Samīr was appointed war correspondent for Al-Ṭā'if at Tall al-Kabīr. Later, however, when 'Urābī himself shifted his headquarters from Kafr-al-Dawwār to the eastern front Nadīm joined him there and sent in his reports to Al-Ṭā'if from the new headquarters at al-Qaṣṣaṣīn cf. Al-Ṭā'if, 25, 30.8.1882, and 1.9.1882; also Tārīkh Miṣr, P.76.

(2) Al-Ṭā'if, 1.9.1882.

On the day of the second battle of Qaṣṣāṣīn in which 'Urābī kept his promise ro retaliate against the British, Nadīm commented on the precarious position of the Khedive and his agents: "Tawfīq and Sulṭān Pasha had come to al-Ismā'īliyyah expecting to celebrate the English victory ... but they were full of gloom at the outcome ... What a predicament they were in when they found themselves face to face with Wolseley, bemoaning the death of his men and the enormous numbers of wounded, cursing Tawfīq, Sulṭān and Malet who had misled him by their reports that Egypt had not more than six thousand soldiers, who would run away at the mere sight of an Englishman ... We are joyously celebrating our victory, while they are bemoaning their defeat, 'until they encounter that day of theirs which they had been promised!'(1), they will find it a day whose evil flies far and wide.'(2), "

In the second battle of al-Qaṣṣāṣīn, Nadīm himself fell temporarily into enemy hands. Describing this episode he says: "I fought the enemy not only with my tongue and pen, but had also the honour to be one of the soldiers of God. I found myself in the right flank of the army with 'Alī Pasha Fahmī, and while I was crossing over to the left flank, dense dust and smoke made me lose my way, and I strayed into the ranks of the English. Four of them surrounded me and led my horse away

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(1) Qur'ān, Sūrat al-Ma'ārij, 'Āyah No. 42.
(2) Qur'ān, Sūrat al-Insān, 'Āyah No. 8.

behind the battle line ... Feigning to be unconscious, I lay across the saddle of the horse; cautiously, I extracted the gun from my pocket and shot the guard in the head. At the sound of the shot, four Englishmen turned towards me, their swords drawn, but before they reached me, a machine gun nearby fired, and my startled horse broke into a gallop which never stopped until we were well away from the battlefield. Then I regained our camp."(1)

It is certain that the civilians of Egypt were immensely cheered and comforted when they read Nadīm's descriptions of the victories of the Egyptian army. He gave them confidence in their own strength, and belief in the final victory which made them join the army, or help in any way they could. The columns of Al-Ṭā'if and the other national newspapers, especially al-Waqā'i' which quoted Nadīm, were full, at the time, of the names of donors who generously contributed money, food and arms. The 'Ulamā' and dignitaries who visited 'Urābī's headquarters to congratulate him on his victories were also mentioned in Nadīm's newspaper which now appeared every day, though mostly on one page only.(2)

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(1) Al-Ṭā'if, 3.9.1882.
(2) Cf. Al-Ṭā'if, 3,4,14,16 and 25.8. and 5 and 6.9.1882.

The manner in which Nadīm handles the war news would have hardly been justifiable in peacetime. It is almost exclusively dictated by reasons of expediency. He shows regard for facts only when they answer his purpose: it is not the truth that counts so much as the need and the wish to mobilise the feelings of the masses, to stimulate them to fight and to instil into them confidence in their own strength and a firm belief in the final victory. To achieve this purpose he often found it necessary to exaggerate Egyptian successes and belittle the enemy at every opportunity and with every means at his disposal. Thus Al-Tā'if as an instrument of war propaganda became one of the most efficient weapons of the Egyptian army, hardly less efficient and less lethal than swords and guns.

It must be borne in mind that a war of nerves of the kind introduced by Nadīm was an entirely new phenomenon in nineteenth century Egypt, and was in fact not perfected and practised on a large scale until the First World War. Only then did it come to be regarded as a weapon equivalent to other weapons, wielded by a well-organised, specialised unit within the army. The modern method of dealing with news in wartime is exactly like that used by Nadīm. While the war lasts, and especially in times of crisis, the population behind the front-line is never really informed about the real happenings on the field of battle; the news usually reaches them through the

medium of a press which is more or less heavily censored, where victories may be publicised and even exaggerated to generate enthusiasm and encourage the war effort, but defeats are minimised or explained away altogether or represented as skilful strategic retreats. Even the official news bulletins have been proved to distort or hide the truth in wartime.(1) There is no doubt that the morale of the nation can be influenced by tactics of this kind to a great extent. Such was also the effect of Nadīm's campaign on the Egyptian public during the Anglo-Egyptian war in 1882. The pages of Al-Ṭā'if at that time prove amply that Nadīm conducted this war of nerves very efficiently indeed.

However, Nadīm did not confine himself to writing war reports. He shouldered single-handed the whole responsibility for the army's morale. He kept up, until the very end, the practice of inciting the army by fiery harangues before, during and after the battles. He used to encourage the officers by mentioning outstanding feats of bravery in Al-Ṭā'if, giving the name and rank of the hero and a description of his rôle in the battle. "On the battlefield", wrote Nadīm, "I met Aḥmad Najm, officer of the first battalion, who stopped me and said: "Observe the deeds of our soldiers with your own eyes; see the officers themselves in fromt of their ranks, fighting the enemy to encourage their soldiers, and write with belief."(2) He

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(1) Lord Montgomery's Memoirs, published in The Sunday Times from September to December, 1958.
(2) Al-Ṭā'if, 7.9.1882.

inspired the combatants with fortitude by constant speeches, exhorting them, in his own words, "to knock with English skulls at the doors of heaven" and make them seek "heaven under the shade of swords."(1) "Whenever I visited an army unit, I used to urge it on to action and was answered not by words, but by deeds, by the thunder of guns and a rush to the front-line."(2)

After the British had seized the Suez Canal and the frontline had been shifted to Tall al-Kabīr, the situation began deteriorating rapidly. Until then, Nadīm's reports of victories had by no means been deprived of foundation, and fortune had more or less favoured the Egyptians on the western front, but now the repercussions of the Holy War between Muslims and non-Muslims as the Anglo-Egyptian war was interpreted in the Muslim world, began to make themselves felt with increasing intensity in Britain's Muslim colonies, and Britain realised that even if the war against 'Urabī were won, the Holy War would flame up again elsewhere in her Muslim colonial territory. She brought therefore pressure to bear on the Sultan, during constant negotiations(3) urging him to

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(1) Al-Ṭā'if, 1.9.1882.
(2) Ibid.
(3) For details of the negotiations cf. Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol. v., P.P. 201-204.

despatch a small symbolic unit of the Turkish Army against 'Urābī, and to issue a proclamation branding him as a rebel against the authority of the Caliph of the Muslims in order to discredit him in Muslim eyes. Though reluctant at first, the Sultan finally yielded, and the proclamation was published in the Constantinople press on September 6, 1882.(1)

When 'Urābī learnt the news "he summoned immediately 'Abd Allāh Nadīm"(2) and his war council, informed them of the turn matters had taken and asked for their opinion and advice. "Nadīm's opinion was that the text of the proclamation should immediately be published in Al-Ṭā'if and each of its items separately refuted; he also insisted that resistance should be continued, and the nation protected from invaders, even if they were Turks."(3)

Sound as this advice was, it failed to convince 'Urābī who feared a change of heart and possible dissension among his followers, especially as the bulk of the nation and the majority of all ranks of the army firmly believed that the Sultan, the head and symbol of the Muslim world, supported 'Urābī, that they themselves were defending the territory of the Muslim empire, and that this effort, sustained in the interests of Islam, would be rewarded by God. 'Urābī therefore decided to keep the proclamation secret.

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(1) For the full text of the proclamation cf. ibid., P.200; also Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, p.p. 443, 444; Broadley, op.cit., P.P.97, 98; 'Urābī, Mudhakkirāt, vol. ii, P.17.18.
(2) Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol. v, P.248.
(3) Ibid.

Perhaps Nadīm's advice was not only feasible but sound. He must have foreseen that the shock would be very severe, if the nation were kept in ignorance of the developments and suddenly learnt about them from an enemy source which was, besides, bound to exaggerate the severity of the accusations against 'Urābī. In any case, subsequent events proved that he was right. The spies of the adversary, mostly Bedouins, began distributing leaflets with the text of the proclamation followed by hostile and malicious comments from the camp of the Khedive.(1) "When the army saw the proclamation of the Sultan, many were dismayed and their determination weakened."(2)

When 'Urābī finally made up his mind to follow Nadīm's advice, it was already too late.(3) Though the Egyptian army continued its resistance, these leaflets, and the circulars of the Khedive promising promotion and decorations, had their effect. They made a strong impression on some of the high-ranking officers one of whom, 'Alī Yūsuf,(4) became the chief agent of the Khedive. According to Nadīm's account of the third battle of al-Qassasin "it was obvious to everyone that the battle was going in our favour when 'Alī Yūsuf ordered his regiment to retreat ... I told 'Urābī that this man was not to be trusted, but harboured evil designs, and that this flight had been the cause of our defeat. It was therefore my

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(1) For the full text, cf, Broadley, op.cit., P.97,98.
(2) Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol. v, P.248.
(3) Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol. v, P.248.
(4) He was the commander of the third infantry regiment; cf. Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.P.445,448, Tārīkh Miṣr, P.P.76.77.

advice that he should either be court-martialled on the spot, or brought before the National Executive Council to be judged. 'Urābī replied: 'I fear that people might say': 'We /his comrades/ have supported him, and now he is turning against us; we have stood by him, and now he is accusing us of deceit, threatening those who were his supporters and friends in order to become the only ruler.'"(1) Later developments proved the soundness of Nadīm's advice and perspicacity for 'Alī Yūsuf was secretly active in the very centre of an organised spy-ring which worked for both the Khedive and the British.(2) Himself a member of 'Urābī's War Council and therefore well-informed, he used to inform the enemy daily of any impending strategic move. Heavy defeats of the national army were the unavoidable result.(3) When 'Urābī at last realised the extent of 'Alī Yūsuf's perfidy, and decided to take Nadīm's advice and have him court-martialled as a traitor, it was, as usual, too late: the British army, acting on advance information, decided to attack unexpectedly before a change of plans could be effected. The attack took place that very night. It was camouflaged by front ranks composed of Bedouins and Egyptian traitors, so that

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(1) Tārikh Miṣr, P.P. 77,78.
(2) For details of 'Alī Yūsuf's treason cf. Blunt, Secret, P.P. 410-418; al-Khafīf, op.cit., P.P.441-446; Naqqāsh, op.cit. vol. v, P.209; Riḍā, Tārikh al-Ustādh, vol.1, P.P.258-259.
(3) For details cf. Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, p.p. 445-457, 'Urābī, Mudhakkirāt, vol. ii, P.P.19-25, Tārīkh Miṣr, P.P.77-78.

the enemy was not recognised as such until he had penetrated to the very centre of the totally unprepared national forces whose resistance could not be of long duration. Soon the national army scattered in all directions in a disorganised flight; the last and decisive battle of the Anglo-Egyptian army, the battle of Tall al-Kabir on 13th.September,1882, ended in a shattering defeat of the Egyptian forces.(1) "Thus," said Nadīm, "the enemy entered the country without a real war and conquered it without a real fight, and the country was humiliated and put to shame not by cowardice, but by traitors among her sons and not by her ememies, but by traitors among her superior orficers."(2)

When 'Urābī finally despaired of victory, and was almost surrounded by enemy forces, he mounted his horse, followed by Nadīm, "Our horses galloped side by side," said Nadīm, not out of cowardice nor in flight from the enemy, but what we had in mind was to go to Bilbays and gather the scattered remnants of the army and, together with the reserve units stationed at al-'Abbāsiyyah, set up a new front there to oppose further progress of the enemy. We were, however, overtaken on our way by 'Alī al-Rūbī, whose opinion was that we should not attempt to fight,

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(1) For details of the battle cf. Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, p.p.448,457; Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol.v, P.P.247,250.
(2) Tārīkh Miṣr, P.79.

but go on to Cairo and ask for the advice of the nation and find out what forces the National Executive Council could muster."[1] These reasons seemed valid enough and 'Urābī, accompanied by Nadīm and 'Alī al-Rūbī went by rail to Cairo and thence to Qasr al-Nil where a session of the National Executive Council was in progress. After 'Urābī had informed them of the turn the events had taken, a discussion[2] ensued in which different views were expressed, until the opinion prevailed that the resistance should be continued. However, they soon realised that any attempt at resistance would be futile, and merely expose Cairo to the fate of Alexandria. In view of that, the Council decided to surrender[3] and to submit a petition to the Khedive, begging his forgiveness for the mistakes they had committed.[4] Nadīm was requested to draw up the petition, but could not bring himself to concur with them either on the contents of the proposed petition or on the form it should take, because, as he said: " We have only been doing our duty by our country; why should we ask to be pardoned?"[5] He therefore composed a petition which, far from

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(1) Tārīkh Miṣr, P.79; cf.also Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.453; Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol, v, P.249; Broadley, op.cit., P.137.
(2) For details of the discussion cf, al-Thawrah, P.458; Naqqāsh op.cit., vol, v, P.251.
(3) Broadley, op.cit., P.137.
(4) For details cf, Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.P.458, 459; Tārīkh Miṣr, P.79; 'Urābi, Mudhakkirāt, vol, ii, P.28-29.
(5) Tārīkh Miṣr, P.79.

being an admission of guilt, accused the aggressor in no uncertain terms. However, the strong language of this draft did not meet with the approval of the Council; Nadīm's objections were overruled, and Buṭrus Ghālī Pasha, the Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Justice and one of the members of the Council, wrote another petition, admitting their guilt, begging the mercy of the Khedive and assuring him of their obedience. It was signed by 'Urābī and the other members of the Council and was to be handed to the Khedive by a special delegation, which left for Alexandria by special train on September, 14, 1882.(1) In spite of all that, Nadīm had not yet given up the hope of convincing 'Urābī that it was his duty to surrender honourably and with dignity, as befitted a defeated general, and not humbly, as a self-confessed rebel. "You are not a rebel," said Nadīm to 'Urābī, "You have led the nation in seeking liberty, and employed all honourable means to this end, respecting the laws, not thinking of self, but of the welfare of Egypt. You became commander of the troops appointed to defend the country in a lawful manner, and by order of the Sultan, the Khedive, the Assembly, and with the sanction of the nation."(2) Nadīm did not desist until he finally won 'Urābī over to his point of view; in fact, 'Urābī regained much of the old confidence in his own strength, and

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(1) Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.459; Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol.v, P.252.
(2) Samīr, op.cit., P.12; 'Urabī, Mudhakkirāt, vol.ii, P.P.28-29. Tārīkh Miṣr, P.P.80.81.

evan began to think of resistance.[1] Consequently, he sent a telegram to the delegation, ordering them to break their journey and wait for Nadīm at Kafr - al-Dawwār.[2] In great haste, Nadīm drew up an alternative petition, deleting all the expressions of humility and guilt, and hurried by special train to Kafr-al-Dawwār. But ill-luck dogged his steps, for he learnt on his arrival there that the delegates had already gone on to Alexandria and had been arrested by the order of the Khedive who had refused to accept the apology.[3] Nadīm had no alternative but to return to Cairo on the same special train. He reached Cairo on September 15, 1882 at four o'clock in the morning.[4]

It does Nadīm credit that he remained faithful to the cause he had espoused in this hour of peril, that he did not think in terms of persons and lives and personal danger - which was the foremost concern of the other leaders - but in terms of honour and duty, service to the nation, its dignity and its future. He did not agree with 'Urābī that it was fitting for the leader of a national movement whom all Egypt had regarded as the symbol of her emancipation and her struggle for freedom, whom she had trusted implicitly and supported

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(1) Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol. vii, P.53.
(2) Rāfi'ī, al Thawrah, P.459; Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol. v, P.252.
(3) Ibid.; 'Urābī, Mudhakkirāt, vol. ii, P.29.
(4) Ibid.; Taymūr, op.cit., P.18; Samīr, op.cit., P.12; Amīn, Zu'amā', P.230.

with all available means, who had led her in her holy war against the tyranny of her rulers and aggression from without, to go humbly begging for mercy, or to confess from the outset that what he had done was criminal. He rightly pointed out that it was not shameful to be defeated by strong enemy odds, for many generals had met with that fate and yet preserved their honour and the honour of their country. He obviously thought that if a leader is defeated and honourably surrenders, others will follow to uphold the banner of resistance and defend the memory of the defeated. In Nadīm's opinion the greatest danger to the nation who had put all her trust in 'Urābī was to be told that he had been wrong, mistaken and guilty, for once disappointed, she would never trust another Egyptian leader. The morale of the country and its spirit of resistance would suffer irreparable damage, and its future would be impaired beyond redemption. "In this, Nadīm proved superior to all his colleagues of the National Party, and this promoted him to the rank of a hero."(1) He was the only leader of the National Party whose belief in his mission and the right of the national movement to fight for freedom and independence in the name of the nation remained unshaken after the defeat." In this he was unique; when all the leaders broke down, when their morale suffered and the spark in their hearts died out and their hope turned to despair, Nadīm alone persevered in

(1) Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.533.

the convictions and principles he had professed all his life."[1] Be it as it may, by virtue of his faith in the very aspirations of which he was the exponent, Nadīm rendered, in these crucial weeks, an incalculable service to his nation. Therefore he should rightly be remembered as the faithful pioneer of nationalism in Egypt.

It cannot be denied that the first phase of the national movement in modern Egypt ended, strategically at least, in failure, and resulted in the British occupation of Egypt. Nevertheless, Egypt after the revolution was not the Egypt of Nadīm's youth. Now the nation herself, taught her primary lesson in liberation by Nadīm, taught by him to resent tyranny and to demand justice and to long for a democratic way of life, has come to believe that "Egypt is neither for the Turk nor for the European, but for the Egyptian."

Nothing is more certain than that: had Nadīm been less faithful to his convictions, less doggedly determined in his struggle, less active in both peace and war, had he not roused the Egyptians to support the national movement and to fight for the cause of their nation, the fellahin would still be the twofold slaves they were in 1880, slaves, in the name of religion, of their Turkish masters who themselves were slaves of the Europeans. The whole legend of fellah emancipation would have vanished in disgraceful smoke, for a nation which has never dared to fight for its existence is

(1) Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.537; also Amīn, Zu'amā', P.252.

justly despised. "We fought", Nadīm says, "for our nation to remain alive, and the day will come for the Egyptians when liberty will be restored to them, and the armed struggle of 1882 will appear in its true light as the beginning of our national life, and one, as such, glorious in Egypt's annals."(1)

(1) Tārīkh Miṣr, P.82.

CHAPTER IV

NADĪM AFTER THE BREAKDOWN OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT.

1882-1892.

The defeat of the national movement resulting in Nadīm's disappearance from the scene of surrender, is a turning point in his life. It marks the end of one period and the beginning of another which is diametrically opposed, in its character, to the socially and politically active life of the years before and during the revolution. Far away from the limelight of public life, from the oratorial pulpit and the editorial desk, it is a period of darkness and obscurity, of secrecy and disguise. It is, however, by no means deficient in elements of adventure, cunning, concealment and subterfuge; neither is it deprived of the alleviation afforded by the loyalty of friends and by reliance on, and trust in the faith of the fellah in the national movement and its ideas, even after the surrender and under the occupation. On the other hand, from the purely creative point of view, it is the most fruitful period of his life, in which he wrote a great number of books on various subjects.

Having returned from Kafr-al-Dawwār to his own house in the 'Ashmāwī district[1] in the early morning of the fifteenth of September 1882, he went first with his father and his servant to Būlāq harbour to see the former off on his way down the Nile to Alexandria.[2] Then, accompanied by his servant, Ḥasan Maḥmūd, he took refuge in the house of one of his friends, Shaykh Muṣṭafā[3], in Būlāq, where he remained in hiding for some time, keenly observing the development of the political situation. Nadīm must have obtained knowledge, in his hide-out, of the triumphal entry into Cairo of the British Commander in the company of Sulṭān Pasha as the deputy of the Khedive[4], and of the subsequent arrest of all the leaders of the national movement. The Khedive " entered Cairo on September 25th 1882, under the protection of English swords and guns."[5] He was received at the station by General Wolseley, the Duke of Kent and Sir Edward Malet who even accompanied him in his processional carriage on the way to the palace while British troops were lining the streets. The Egyptians compared this

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(1) Taymūr, op.cit.,P.18.

(2) Cf. Samīr, op.cit.,P.12; Nadīm must have foreseen the danger threatening his father if he stayed in Cairo. For details about what happened to his father cf.Kān Wa Yakūn, vol. 1, pp. 208,209.

(3) Cf. Taymūr, op.cit., pp.18,19; Shaykh Muṣṭafā whose surname is not established, was one of the 'Ulamā' of al-Azhar.

(4) On 15.9.1882, cf. Rāfi'ī al-Thawrah, P.462

(5) Rāfi'ī al-Thawrah, P.470.

with the restoration of the Bourbons in the person of Louis XVIII who had returned to Paris under the protection of foreign armies.(1) Many parties were given in honour of the British victors,(2) and the Khedive himself reviewed the British army in front of his palace.(3) He also awarded decorations to a number of British officers; Sultān Pasha himself received a reward for his effort to crush the national movement from both the British and the Khedive. There was a knighthood and St. George's Cross from Queen Victoria and £10,000 from the Egyptian Treasury for his friendship for the British.(4) Nadīm must also have known that Sultān Pasha and other agents of the Khedive had been given a free hand in arresting anybody they wanted, which enabled them to take revenge on their former political adversaries and personal enemies who were all jailed without exception.(5) Nadīm was the only important figure of the movement to escape imprisonment, though the government alerted all its secret agents and mobilised the police to discover his refuge.(6)

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(1) Rāfi'ī al-Thawrah, pp. 470 - 472

(2) Ibid., pp. 472 - 473

(3) On 30.9.1882, cf. Ibid., pp. 474, 475

(4) Ibid., pp 475 - 477

(5) The number of imprisoned Egyptian reached 30,000; cf. Rāfi'ī al-Thawrah, P. 462. Maḥmūd Pasha Fahmī assesses the number of prisoners at about 29,000.Cf. al-Baḥr al-Zākhir Fī Tārīkh al-'Awā'il Wa al-Awākhir, Cairo 1312 A.H. Vol. 1, P. 222.

(6) Sulaymān Sāmī and Ḥasan Mūsā al-'Aqqād who fled to Crete by boat but were arrested there and brought back to Cairo where they were imprisoned and tried. Cf. Broadley, op.cit, pp. 256, 257; Kān Wa Yakūn, vol.. 1, pp. 248, 249.

Sultān Pasha, as the deputy of the Khedive, and Riyāḍ Pasha, as the Minister of the Interior, issued a joint order which was circulated in all the villages and towns of the country and made anyone who gave shelter to Nadīm, or even failed to inform the authorities of his whereabouts, liable to the penalty of death. Moreover, a reward of one thousand pounds was offered in the official journal to anybody who gave information leading to the capture of Nadim, alive or dead.(1) They even sent a party of secret service agents to search for him in Syria.(2) It is understood that Nadīm was certain, in his hiding place at Būlāq, that he was regarded as one of the main enemies of the Khedive as well as of the British invader, of Sulṭān Pasha as well as of the Sultan himself, and that these would all combine to take revenge on him. Presumably, he found himself faced by a difficult choice: to surrender to his enemies or to go into hiding. In the first case, he would have to choose between confessing, under torture, his " guilt " which would enable him to ask for mercy as the others were doing, or to suffer death by hanging. There remained the other alternative, namely to flee or disappear until the nation rose again - as he still hoped at that time(3) - and a chance presented itself to pass on the ideas of the movement to another generation. The latter was the line

(1) A notice to this effect was daily published in al-Waqā'i'; cf. al-Waqā'i', op. cit., September, October, November 1882; Taymūr, op. cit., p.19; Amīn, Zu'amā', P.230; Kān Wa Yakūn, Vol., 1,pp. 17,18.

(2) Cf. Kān Wa Yakūn, Vol., 1, pp 17 - 18

(3) Cf. Tārīkh Miṣr P.94

of action he finally decided upon. Therefore he resolved to go to Damietta to join 'Abd al-'Āl Ḥilmī, the commander of the Damietta regiment who had refused to capitulate, and persisted in the struggle. In case 'Abd al-'Āl was forced to surrender, Nadīm had in mind to flee from there to Syria and thence to Europe.(1)

Nadīm realised, however, that to travel unregognised would present great problems. How could he travel without being arrested, if his face was known to high and low? The experienced actor in him put all his knowledge of stage-craft into the performance of this task. By the time his stay at Shaykh Muṣṭafā's house was over, his outward appearance had completely changed.(2) Until then he had worn European clothes, but now he had donned a flowing homespun red cloak of rough wool, grown long hair and a long beard, covered his head with a red turban and blindfolded himself with a handkerchief, as if to protect weak eyesight against sunlight. When he left his friend's house, he presented a true-to-life picture of a half-blind provincial Ṣūfī.(3) He left his friend's house at night, under cover of darkness, and directed his steps to Būlāq harbour, leaning on a long staff, guided by his servant.(4) On his way

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(1) Cf. the newspaper al-Muqaṭṭam. The (later) interrogation of Nadīm and his servant 7.10.1891; also Kān Wa Yakūn, Vol. 1, pp. 248, 249.

(2) Cf. al-Muqaṭṭam, 5.10.1891; Taymūr, op.cit., p.27; Amīn, Zu'amā', P.250.

(3) Taymūr, op. cit., P.19; Samīr, op. cit., P,13; Amīn, Zu'mā', pp. 230, 231.

(4) Samīr, op. cit., P.13.

he must have passed a number of people all perfectly unaware that this person, to all outward appearances, one of the country type itinerant Sheikhs of one of the Ṣūfī orders, guided by one of his disciples on his tour of towns and villages to give his blessing to his followers and to receive their gifts, was none other than the famous Nadīm, the fugitive with a price on his head.

In Būlāq harbour, Nadīm found a sailing boat bound for Damietta whose skipper must have considered himself lucky to have the shaykh and his disciple on board, for he expected his blessing to ensure God's protection for the journey. Instead of proceeding direct to Damietta, however, Nadīm took the precaution of interrupting his journey at al-Qanātir al-Khayriyyah where he spent the night on the bank of the Nile together with his servant. The next morning, another ship took the supposed Ṣūfī to Binhā.(1) On their arrival at Binhā, all boats were stopped by the police who were searching for Nadīm,(2) but when they boarded the boat he was on, they paid no attention to the Shaykh who, rosary in hand, was saying his prayers and litanies. Of course he was not identified, and even asked

(1) Cf. al-Muqaṭṭam, 9.10.1891; Samīr, op.cit., P.13; Taymūr op. cit., P.19; Amīn, Zu'amā', P.231

(2) The suspicion had been roused by the report of Shāhīn Fu'ād, inspector of the Estate Bank, one of the Turkish Mamlūks of 'Abbās I and evidently not sympathetic towards the national movement, who had seen Nadīm seated in a carriage, when he was seeing his father off at Būlāq; this caused the suspicion that he was somewhere in the propinquity of the river; cf. Taymūr, op. cit., P.18.

the police to help him across the bridge for another boat going to Damietta.(1) On learning the news of the surrender of the Damietta regiment,(2) he dismissed the idea of going there, but kept changing boats until he reached al-Mansūrah, where he spent, with his servant, three days in the main mosque of the city. From al-Mansūrah he went to Minyat al-Ghuraqā,(3) to the house of Shaykh Aḥmad who was one of the 'Ulamā' of al-Azhar, and also one of the local notables who supported the national movement.(4) When Nadīm came in, neither the host, his personal friend, nor any of those present recognised him, although they all knew him very well. When the guests had left, Nadīm disclosed his identity to his host, Shaykh Aḥmad(5) whom he found eager to help him to the best of his ability. Besides, there lived in this provincial town the famous Shaykh Shiḥātah al-Qaṣabī, one of the leaders of the Ṣāwiyyah Ṣūfī order who was one of the most influential Ṣūfīs in Lower Egypt, and had

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(1) Cf. al-Muqṭṭam, 9.10.1891; 'Aṭiyyat Allāh, op.cit., P.80.

(2) On 29.9.1882.

(3) Al-Muqṭṭam, 9.10.1891, also Taymūr, op.cit.P.19; Samīr, op. cit., P.13; Minyat al-Ghuraqā is in the Gharbiyyah province.

(4) For saftey reasons, Nadīm did not mention the full name of his host and benefactor; Cf. Al-Ustādh, pp.7,316; Kān Wa Yakūn, Vol., 1, pp. 6, 248.

(5) Contrary to what is stated by Taymūr (cf. Taymūr, op.cit.,P.19) Nadīm did not go to Shaykh Qasabī's house, he did not even see him in the first months of his retreat; cf.Kān Wa Yakūn, Vol., 1, pp.6, 248; also Al-Ustādh, P.316.

a large number of disciples and followers all over the country. Nadīm himself had once been one of them, when he was roaming the country in his early days.(1) In describing this man, Nadīm is lavish with laudatory attributes; " He is an honourable teacher, a saintly friend of God and my perfect mentor; deeply pious, godfearing, al-Sayyid Shiḥātah al-Qaṣabī is one of the righteous and virtuous Sheikhs devoting their life to God. He earns his living staying at home; he does not solicit gifts from his adherents, nor does he accept tithes like the other Ṣūfī Sheikhs. Furthermore, his house is always open to strangers and wanderers, his generosity knows no bounds, and his kindness is famous. His fear of God and his righteousness make me trust him implicitly."(2) It was to this man that Shaykh Aḥmad broke the news of Nadīm's arrival. Shaykh Qaṣabī's response was immediate and enthusiastic. He did not approve of the planned flight to Syria, but assured Nadīm that he would be safer in his own country, among his friends, the fellahs who had supported the national movement to the point of self-sacrifice.(3) Nadīm relied unreservedly on Shaykh al-Qaṣabī who became his chief protector.(4) He organised an action whose aim it was to provide secure hiding

(1) Taymūr, op. cit., p.19.

(2) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1,pp.246,247: for details about Shaykh al-Qaṣabī,cf. Ibid.,pp.248,249; Al-Ustādh,pp.316-326; Taymūr, op.cit., P.19.

(3) The Shaykh's words were prophetic for Ḥasan al-'Aqqād and Sulaymān Sāmī were caught and brought back to Egypt to be courtmartialled after their flight to Crete; cf.Kān Wa Yakūn, pp. 248, 249; Broadley, op. cit., P.256.

(4) Cf., Kān Wa Yakūn, Vol. 1, PP.246-249; Al-Ustādh, PP.316-326.

places for Nadīm, with whom he communicated in a secret code.[1] In Shaykh Aḥmad's house Nadīm lived in a very dark, cellar-like room connected with the house by an underground tunnel. Not only the floor, but also the walls of his retreat were dripping wet with water seeping through from a nearby canal, for the room was below the sea-level. It was so dark that he could not see to read or write.[2]

Evidently, Nadīm had sufficient reasons to feel despondent in the first months of this period. One that had always been active and hardly ever out of the limelight was now living a life of enforced idleness, hiding like a mole in an underground recess, surrounded by darkness night and day with an illiterate, ignorant servant for an only companion.[3] In spite of the darkness, in which

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(1) Kān Wa Yakūn, Vol., 1, P.7.

(2) Taymūr, op. cit., P.20; Kān Wa Yakūn, Vol., 1. P.5.

(3) To make matters worse, his servant was soon affected by the strain of this way of life and became homesick. Nadīm feardd that if his servant went home, the police would not find it difficult to elicit from him information about Nadīm's place of concealment. He therefore did his utmost to persuade him to stay, and even stressed the real or pretended danger threatening him for complicity in Nadīm's escape. These arguments fully convinced Hasann who henceforth became even more conscientious than his master in observing the disguise. For further details of the episode, cf. Amīn, Zu'amā', P.231; Samīr, op. cit., P.13; Al-Ustādh, pp. 56-63. For the sake of secrecy, Nadīm gave his servant another name, calling him henceforth Ṣālih. Cf. Taymūr, op. cit., P.20; Al-Ustādh,P.56, 57.

he spent his days, it occurred to Nadīm that the inactivity which he found so hard to bear, offered him a chance he had been yearning for all his adult life, namely the opportunity to write books. The pressure of events, and the demands made on his time by his social and political activities had always prevented him from gratifying this desire. " In my first hide-out, I discussed with my host and friend, meritorious in word and deed, the recent happenings in the East and their value for the historian, and disclosed to him that I had written surveys of all the important events, both religious and political, in East and West, which I had collected in a work Muqābalat al-Naẓīr (Comparative Study of Events); and that I had already completed four volumes and reached the reign of Sultan Maḥmud.(1) I told him of my desire to complete the work, he - may God protect him - replied: ' The darkness of the room and the preoccupation with your worries may be a hindrance in this undertaking; but even if you can muster the energy to write, you still ignore the fate of the books you left at home.(2) If they are lost, what use will this volume be without the rest? If the conditions improve, and the government desists from hunting you, you will write a philosophic and historical survey of the recent events. ' Thus

(1) The Sultan of Turkey, (1785 - 1839)

(2) Their fate was obscure, for they had been brought to Cairo from Alexandria by his father, but were thrown into the Nile by railway men at Kafr-al-Zayyāt; cf. Samīr, op.cit.,p.23; Kān Wa Yakūn, vol.. 1, P.9; Amīn, Zu'amā', P.233.

I dismissed the idea from my mind, but wrote instead a qaṣīdah which I called Waṭaniyyat al-Sharq (Eastern Patriotism), and which consisted of three hundred and sixty lines. It contained my sincere advice to the people of the Orient, however different they may be in faith and origin."(1)

The trial of Nadīm's colleagues in Cairo(2) was already over. It had ended in a compromise solution suggested by the British, namely a plea of guilt to save the prisoners' necks. " The position of the British government was a difficult one; several millions of pounds had been spent in crushing out a movement which was at different times described as 'a military rising' and 'a great rebellion', and the task of solving the conundrum of when is a war not a war had turned out both vexatious and costly. After what had passed it was hardly to be expected that Mr. Gladstone(3) would sanction any course which would result in a declaration that 'Urābī was not a rebel after all, and that Britain had therefore been innocently levying war against the Sultan, the Khedive and 'Urābī at the same time. The Government were pledged to the existence of a real rebellion, and if that was formally admitted they cared for little else, but anything like an execution was out of the question."(4)

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(1) Kān Wa Yakūn, Vol. 1, pp. 6-7.

(2) On 3.12.1882. For details of their interrogation cf. Naqqāsh, op.cit., vols. 7,8,9, all through; Broadley, op.cit., all through; Rafi'i al-Thawrah, Pp. 478-509

(3) The then Prime Minister of Great Britain.

(4) Broadley, op. cit., p.307.

The Khedive and his agents intended to liquidate the nationalist leaders by building up a false indictment against each of them separately. As a matter of fact, the evidence presented at the trial itself was, from the legal point of view, by no means sufficient to secure a conviction. " Such men as Lord Dufferin and Sir Charles Wilson have weighed it and found it wanting...[1]" Moreover, " the elastic consciences of the judges, who were to play a part in the gala show of a nominal trial, were not expected to be inconveniently overscrupulous on the question of evidence... Hearsay had been piled upon hearsay, opinion had been recorded upon opinion... but direct, reliable trustworthy evidence there was none. No sort of cross-examination had taken place, nearly half the testimony consisted of letters written in absentia at the requests of the Commission, and the administration of an oath had been consistently dispensed with. Some of these declarations taken in different parts of Egypt, as far apart as Dan from Beersheba, agreed even to the most trivial word and minute punctuation and afforded a convincing proof of the circulation of a ' model ' deposition... Hardly a question had been asked which was not of the kind technically described as leading, and internal evidence of undue influence was afforded almost by every page of the record of the Commission[2] "

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(1) Broadley, op. cit., P.159.
(2) Ibid., P. 158, 160.

Though Nadīm was spared the torture and humiliation which were the lot of his arrested colleagues, he also missed the chance of defending himself against the unjustified charges levelled against him.

It goes without saying that if Nadīm could have been arrested and brought to trial, he would have had to face charges serious enough to send him to the gallows. Of course, such accusations were fabricated, for the mere attack against the Khedive and his clique could not be expected to justify this penalty in the eyes of the only authority, i.e. the occupying British. " The testimony collected " stated the chief defence counsel,[1] " was worse than useless in a legal point of view. "[2]

However, there was no lack of witnesses meady to give false evidence.[3] Before the commission of inquiry two witnesses maintained that they had both together heard Nadīm state, brandishing a rifle, that he had killed three foreigners in Alexandria with that very rifle, and that he had also taken part in burning and looting the city.[4] But definite in this assertion as they were, the witnesses materially differed on other points. To believe that Nadīm could have been seen and heard, uttering the incriminating words, at the same moment

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(1) A.M. Broadley, a British barrister-at-law.

(2) Broadley, P. 158.

(3) Ahmad Salāmah, cf.Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol.. Vlll, pp. 476-477 and Hasan Wāsif, cf. Ibid, vol., Vll, pp. 244-245.

(4) Cf. Naqqāsh, op. cit., vol. vii, pp. 244,245 and vol. viii, pp. 476,477.

and in the same place by two persons purporting to have been in each other's company, but in Alexandria, according to one,[1] and in Ṭanṭā, as averred by the other;[2] on 12th July, as alleged by one witness,[3] and on 13th July as stated by the other,[4] hanging on to the engine of a train in one deposition,[5] or in the back of a van in another,[6] would be to credit him with miraculous powers, Another witness, called to testify against Nadim,[7] alleged to have seen him in Alexandria, on June 11th 1882, inciting the population to a massacre of the Christians, but contradicted himself on another occasion, contending that Nadīm had left Alexandria before June 10th.[8] " As a matter of fact, " said Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh, " Nadīm was not at Alexandria when the riot occurred, but was in Cairo."[9] This fact is even corroborated by the police.[10] These contradictions plainly prove that the witnesses had been suborned, and the evidence fabricated. To quote the words of the defence, " the accusation needed no refutation because it

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(1) Naqqāsh, op.cit., Vol., Vlll, pp. 476, 477.
(2) Ibid., vol., Vlll, pp. 244, 245
(3) Cf. Ibid., vol., Vlll, pp. 476, 477
(4) Cf. Ibid., vol., Vll, pp. 244, 245
(5) Cf. Ibid., vol., Vlll, pp. 476, 477
(6) Cf. Ibid., vol., Vll, pp. 244, 245
(7) Ilyās Malḥamah
(8) Compare his evidences, Naqqāsh, op. cit., vol., Vlll, pp.467 529, 558
(9) Muḥammad 'Abduh, as quoted by Blunt, Secret, P.505
(10) Cf. Naqqāsh, op. cit., vols., Vll, pp. 356, 357 and Vlll, pp. 367, 401, 433 and lX, P.652

refuted itself."[1] This refers by no means to Nadīm only, but was the case throughout the whole trial of the nationalist leaders.

Inevitably, the sham trial found him guilty and, since the government had finally despaired of hunting him down, sentenced him in his absence to lifelong exile.[2]

At any rate,"the restoration of the Khedive's throne by the British troops and under their protection, invaders though they were, created an atmosphere of humiliation, despair and subservience among the Egyptians. It was the beginning of a period of moral and national decadence."[3] While the Khedive's behaviour caused bitterness and hatred to grow in Egyptian hearts, some self-seeking persons found it expedient to serve their interests by fishing in troubled waters and began to give presents to the British commanders in acknowledgment of their victory over the Egyptian army. On the other hand, the British occupation seems to have acted as a signal for a veritable reign of terror by the Khedive's agents[4] who wanted to stamp out the last vestiges of the national movement on Egyptian soil. Thus " throughout the

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(1) Mr. Beaman's speech for the defence; cf.Naqqāsh, op. cit., Vol., Vlll, pp. 531 - 540

(2) Samīr, op. cit., P.13; Taymūr, op. cit., P.19; Amīn, Zuamā', P.230.

(3) Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P. 472

(4) Broadley, op. cit., P. 60

length and breadth of Egypt his /'Urābī/ adherents had been thrown into prison[1] " without prosecution; they were tortured to admit that they had been forced to join 'Urābī, and there were many who were unable to withstand the torture and " confessed ". "From what he /'Urābī/ saw /himself of the tortures/ he feared the most stout-hearted of his followers - such men even as Mahmoud Sami /al-Bārūdī/ and Yacoub Sami - would quail under the moral and physical tortures they endured, and the abject helplessness of their present position."[2] 'Urābī himself said: " All Egypt was with me - the Khedivial family - the old men of Mahemet Ali's time, the Ulemas, the army and the peasants, but in the presence of prison, arrest, torture and threats, who will own me now? Why, I should not be surprised if my very children denied me to my face before the Commission of Inquiry."[3]

Thus it was that the Khedive and his agents succeeded and the country was completely silenced by the iron fist, and " only the British guards marching up and down monotonously outside the palace served to remind him of the cost at which he had propped up this throne, and of the real sentiments of his outraged subjects."[4] The national leaders were exiled

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(1) Broadley, op. cit., P.68.
(2) Ibid, P.68.
(3) Ibid, P. 66.
(4) Ibid, P.71.

to the Sudan and Ceylon and other distant countries,[1] and their followers were condemned to prison sentences of varying length.[2] The only one to escape was Nadīm.

He had spent about four months hiding in Shaykh Aḥmad's house when, on 15th Rabī'awwal 1300 A.H. (January 1883)[3] Shaykh Muḥammad al-Hamsharī, the 'Umdah of al-'Atawah al-Qibliyyah[4] and one of the enthusiasts of the national movement, suddenly appeared at Nadīm's hiding place, bringing an urgent message from Shaykh al-Qaṣabī. " Go with him " wrote the Shaykh, " and do not leave his place without my permission."[5] Nadīm changed his disguise, dyeing his beard white, winding a green turban round his head to look like a Sharif[6] from the family of the Prophet, and went with the 'Umdah.[7]

It was a fortunate escape, for the police swooped on Nadīm's empty hide-out a mere few hours after he had left it.[8] The Shaykh's success in saving Nadīm from arrest in the very last moment was interpreted by all the initiated as a miracle. But it may well have been due to the fact that Shaykh al-Qaṣabī was well-informed and knew what was in store for Nadīm, for his

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(1) On 28.12.1882
(2) For details cf. Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, pp. 489 - 508
(3) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1, P.7.
(4) In the Gharbiyyah province
(5) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1. pp. 246, 247; cf.also Taymūr, op.cit., P.21.
(6) Term used to denote a descendant of the Prophet
(7) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1, P.18
(8) Cf. Samīr, op. cit., pp. 13, 14.

followers were many and had access everywhere, not excluding the police and the civil service; besides, he seems to have been highly intelligent and to have organised excellent protection for Nadīm.

Another amazing episode worth relating is that when Nadīm was on his way to his new retreat in al-'Atawah he encountered the Ma'mūr[1] of one of the Gharbiyyah districts, a Circassian by birth, accompanied by some policemen, and was recognised by him in spite of his disguise. The Ma'mūr passed him, but, having ordered his policemen to proceed, traced back his steps and accosted the apparent Sharīf with the words: " There is no need to dissemble; I know that you are Nadīm. " Nadīm found it impossible to deny this and admitted his identity. The Ma'mūr reassured him saying: " Fear nothing; no harm will befall you. Go and may God protect you, and do not forget that, though a Circassian by birth, I am an Arab in generosity, and therefore grant you your life, and renounce the government reward though I need every penny of it. I also renounce the promotion which I would surely obtain if I arrested you. This is for you to know that there are still generous people left in the world. But beware of this path; take yonder path and turn to the right." Not satisfied with that, he offered Nadīm three pounds, and said: " Nadīm, I swear by God that this is

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(1) Superintendent of police.

all the money I have on me. Accept it, pray, it may be a help in your difficulties."(1)

After his narrow escape, Nadīm was given shelter in the 'Umdah's house at al-'Atawah. Here, again, it had to be a dark room, but this time it was one attached to the 'Umdah's Harīm, " there were forty people in the same house with me ", said Nadīm, " but none of them knew who I was; all they knew was that I was a Sharīf called Shaykh Yūsuf al-Madanī who was staying with the 'Umdah to teach him Qur'ānic law and Islamic culture and did not leave the dark room because he was a Ṣūfī who loved solitude and avoided society, the better to devote his life to God."(2)

The fact that a government official who was himself under strict orders to capture Nadīm had taken him under his wing, gave Nadīm a certain feeling of security, for he knew that the 'Umdah would be the last person suspected of harbouring him. Realising that he would have to spend more time in hiding than he first expected, and finding it difficult to write in adverse physical conditions, Nadīm conceived the idea of teaching his servant. Being a teacher by vocation, he felt naturally drawn to educate an illiterate mind. In doing so he seems to have had three reasons: first, he needed an occupation to counteract the enforced idleness and loneliness of his days; secondly, he wanted to reward his servant for his

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(1) Samīr, op. cit., P.15; cf. also Amīn, Zu'amā', P.233
(2) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1. P.18

loyalty and faithful service; thirdly, he deemed it profitable to improve the mind of his only and inseparable companion, so that he should have someone enlightened to talk to. " He was a lad, illiterate and untouched by knowledge. He knew but what his mother, quite ignorant herself, had taught him, and what he had learnt from his playmates. I taught him and educated him and gave him what his station in life required. " (1) (2)
It is of great interest to follow the records of the dialogues between Nadīm, the educated teacher and man of letters and his abysmally ignorant servant, and to observe Nadīm's patience and the methods of tuition put to use, for some of the difficulties were nearly insuperable. Fortunately, Nadīm recorded some of these lessons under the title 'Bāb al-Tahdhīb' (3)
(Educational Section).

After some time, however, he received a letter which worked a change in his daily programme. " My friend the 'Ālim at Minyat al-Ghuraqā [Shaykh Aḥmad] sent me a letter in code from Cairo, informing me that such and such a person was going (4)
to write a history of Egypt in the thirteenth century of the Hijrah [1786-1882]. I realised that he alluded to our previous conversation on the subject and was giving me the

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(1) Samīr, op. cit., P.13.
(2) Al-Ustādh, P.56
(3) Ibid. pp. 56 - 63
(4) Nadim does not mention the name but it may be Salīm Khalīl al-Naqqāsh, the author of Miṣr lil Miṣriyyīn, Cairo, 1884

signal to begin.[1] I was certain that the historians of East and West would follow in the footsteps of their predecessors, distributing praise or blame according to their inclination, and only writing what suited their way, covetously expecting promotion as their prize. What a shame to waste time on a spurious pursuit."[2]

This letter marks the beginning of a period of fruitful literary activity in which Nadīm wrote a score of books on religious, literary and historic subjects. Most of his books were written in this period. There were certain technical difficulties to overcome, such as the lack of writing materials, but he surmounted them all in his overpowering eagerness to write. " I made my own ink from the soot of my oil lamp, to which I added the fruit of acacia."[3] He cut his own pens as well,[4] and the paper at his disposal was of execrable quality. What is more, he foresaw that he would be gravely hampered in writing on historical subjects by the lack of reference books. When he left Cairo, he had been able to salvage only two small diaries recorded during the war; but when he made up his mind to write, he borrowed some books from his friend

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(1) Cf. above, pp. 324-326.
(2) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1. P.7.
(3) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1. P.53.
(4) From a plant called al-Ḥaṯnā'; cf. Ibid.

at Minyat al-Ghuraqa before leaving his house.[1] " On the 28th Rabī' thānī 1300 A.H. (8.3.1883) I began writing the book "Kān Wa Yakūn" (Things Past and Present) alone in a dark room, far away from the 'Ulamā' and libraries and newspapers, but also hidden from the spies and eyes of the government. It is my intention to present it to the nations of the East whatever their sect, religion, origin and country may be. If God helps me to complete it according to the plan I have in mind, I will disclose it to the readers in the form of a study of religion, philology, nationalism, politics, anthropology, literature and history.[2] "

Having written the introduction, he says " I remembered a Western friend who owned an estate nearby. I knew that he had not returned to France because of the war... Apart from European languages, he knew Arabic and Turkish very well, and had been interested in things oriental for a long time. My friendship with him began in Alexandria in 1292 A.H. (1875). Afterwards, he was in the habit of travelling about Egypt and other Arab countries and returning to France from time to time.

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(1) The books were: Tafsīr Abī al-Su'ūd for the Qur'ān, Qāmūs al-Fiyrūzābādī, al-Wāfī Lil Mas'alah al-Sharqiyyah (History of Islam until the Turco-Russian war by Amīn Shumayyil) and Jughrāfiyyat al-Ṭahṭāwī (in the translation of Malt-Brun). He was reluctant to burden himself with too many books in case he had to flee unexpectedly again; cf. Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1, pp. 20 and 207.

(2) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1, P.5.

The last time he came back from Paris was in 1298 A.H., immediately after the day of 'Ābdīn (9.9.1881); he stayed on because of his interest in oriental matters, observing the events and keeping a chronological account of them, relying on the most trustworthy sources. "(1)

To the 'Umdah's dismay, Nadīm suggested inviting his friend the Frenchman to visit him, for he was sure to possess certain sources which might be useful in his enterprise. The 'Umdah was at first extremely reluctant to disclose to an outsider, especially a foreigner, the secret of Nadīm's identity which he had kept even from his own sons, but after two hours discussion, Nadīm's eloquence and argumentative power prevailed. Finally he assured the 'Umdah: " Do not fear anything. I am convinced of the honour and integrity of this friend; I have been inspired by God by saying Istikhāra (2) /prayer for guidance/ and my heart is delighted by this decision."(3) The letter Nadīm wrote to his Western friend, describing his ordeal and emphasizing the value of friendship, is a remarkable piece of eloquence.(4) Nadīm relates that when the 'Umdah fearfully and reluctantly handed the letter to the Frenchman in the latter's

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(1) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1, pp. 11, 12. I have found it impossible to identify the Frenchman in question when I visited al-'Atawā. Even the family of Shaykh Hamsharī the 'Umdah, knew nothing of the relationship between the Frenchman and Nadīm.

(2) For details of the term Istikhāra cf. Encyclopedia of Islam, vol., 11, P. 561

(3) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1, P.12.

(4) For the complete text of the letter cf. Ibid, P. 13.

mansion in the presence of his wife and visitors, the Frenchman gave the 'Umdah no sign of understanding.[1] The 'Umdah went back, reproaching himself with having yielded to Nadīm and defied Shaykh al-Qaṣabī's order by betraying the carefully guarded secret, the more so, as he was afraid of losing face in the eyes of the Shaykh and his fellow nationalists if anything went wrong.

" When the Khawājah[2] was late and did not reply, doubt assailed me whether I had been right, and my heart was troubled by misgivings, but my confidence in the man alleviated my anxiety and lessened my fear. "[3]

Several hours later, while the 'Umdah was in his parlour, surrounded by guests among whom was the Ma'mūr of the district, there appeared in the doorway a stranger in flowing oriental robes.[4] The 'Umdah who went out to meet him failed to recognise him, until he spoke and made himself known as the Khawājah. He was led to the back-door of the Ḥarīm, and then to Shaykh Yūsuf al-Madanī. " While I was sitting there, " says Nadīm, " a man entered my room with a warm and eager greeting; as soon

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(1) For details of what happened between the 'Umdah and the Khawājah cf. Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1, pp. 13,14.

(2) Term used by Egyptians to address foreigners; the word is Turco-Persian in origin, and means "master".

(3) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1, P.13.

(4) Ibid., P.14, 15.

as he spoke, I knew by his voice that he was my faithful friend. We embraced with tears and laughter and began talking... At last I told him of my undertaking and begged him for some historical material. [1] " This filled the Khawājah with amazement and wonder. How could Nadīm entertain the idea of writing books, while he was beset by such dangers and could be arrested and executed or exiled at any moment? " A human being is a line in history " answered Nadīm, " if one writes it with the water of waste and enjoyment, it will soon vanish without trace, but if one writes it with the ink of thought, it will endure for ever. The former is the one who spends his life hunting for pleasure; when he dies, he will soon be forgotten as if he had never lived; but the latter loves mankind, and works for the improvement of thought and humanity, and when his soul leaves his body, his name will take its place among eternal monuments. [2] "

Nadīm's plan attracted the Khawājah, and he offered to participate in writing the book. " I think " said the Khawājah, " that if you permit me, I will visit you every other day as long as you are in hiding, though my house is rather distant, and will share your room in the daytime. My suggestion is, however, that you do not write the book in the usual form of a continuous narrative, but in the form of a dialogue with me

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(1) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1, P.15.
(2) Ibid., P.18,19.

putting the question and you giving the reply; and when a piece of argument is finished, and I leave you, you will write down what we have discussed... We must bear in mind, however, in our discussion and while you are writing, that we are two partners in a discussion between whom there is no other link than their concern for the benefit of mankind, so that every situation and every point should be given their apt and precise description even if it detracts from the stature of either or both of us. "(1)

" Conforming to oriental usage, Europe will be discussed under heading 'West' as opposed to 'East'; I myself will be described by the term 'Western' and you by the term 'Eastern'(2); the Christian religion will be called the 'Western' question and the Islamic religion the 'Eastern' question, in accordance with the modes of expression of the politicians. "(3) They agreed to begin with the origin of religions both those revealed by God and those invented by man, and from there to proceed to Christianity and Islam, also explaining the origin of the subsequent conflict between the supporters of the two religions which led to the conflict between East and West, and thus laying the foundation for a study of the Egyptian question. They agreed that, when they reached this point, Nadīm alone

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(1) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1, pp. 15,16.

(2) The " Khawājah " is denoted by the letter "Gh" (Abbreviation for "Gharbī" - Western) and Nadīm by the letters "Sh" (Abbreviation for "Sharqī" - Eastern) cf. Ibid, P.20.

(3) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1, P.16.

would deal with the Egyptian problem in the traditional way without interruption; however, the Khawājah reserved the right of questioning him on any problem that arose in the course of writing. Nadīm concurred. He states that the Khawājah requested him not to give his name until the book was completed.(1) Unfortunately, only the first volume of the original three was published in the author's life-time, and even that was not quite complete; the third volume dealing with the Egyptian question was found later in the form of a manuscript copy in the Egyptian National Library (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah). But even in this last part the Khawājah's name is not given. Nadīm's motives for the supression of the Khawājah's name remain obscure: he could not have mentioned it in the second part - always provided this second part was written at all - since he still refers to him as the Khawājah in later years in Al-Ustādh without stating his name.(2) Nadīm, however, did not postpone the praise of the man until the book "Kān wa Yakūn was finished, but frequently gave expression to his gratitude to the Khawājah: " The reader will wonder to the utmost of wonder when he learns that I am the one for whose capture the government mustered its forces throughout the length and breadth of Egypt... and sent a special search party to Syria, and

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(1) Cf. Kān wa Yakūn, vol. 1, pp. 17,18.
(2) Cf. Al-Ustādh, P.56.

another to Italy... threatening anybody with the penalty of death for preserving my secret. When, in spite of all that, I addressed a man alien to me in race, nation and religion, and disclosed to him the secret of my abode and asked him to come... he responded without hesitation or doubt... In my Western friend, I have found unfailing honesty, not impaired by any ulterior motive, and a determination never to lower its standard and never to be shaken by adversity or calamity. "(1)

The visits of the Khawājah were frequent and the discussions proceeded according to plan. They were occasionally attended by Shaykh Hamsharī, though merely in the character of a listener,(2) and later also by the Khawājah's wife, a French lady, who even took part in some of the discussions;(3) she used to come to the sessions disguised as a fellah woman.(4)

The Frenchman usually brought news of the happenings in the outside world, among them rumours concerning Nadīm's own person. The rumours came from both camps, i.e. government and national circles. The government was apparently greatly embarrassed by its failure to capture Nadim, and that must have been the origin of the rumour that he had been arrested and then killed in Damanhūr prison,(5) or that he had simply died

(1) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1, pp. 17,18.
(2) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1, P.69,70
(3) She is denoted by the letter "S"; Nadīm gives no reason for this choice of symbol: it may have been the abbreviation of Sayyidah (lady).
(4) Cf. Kan Wa Yakun, vol.1, pp. 88, 204, 211, 212.
(5) Samīr, op. cit.,P.12; Taymūr, op. cit., P.19.

a natural death.[1] There is no doubt that the nationalist circles were fascinated by Nadīm's successful escape. In their eyes he became a hero and a mythical figure like a saint. The simple primitive imagination of the fellah attributed to Nadīm the power of working miracles. Of his escape innumerable tales were told, in which he either fought bravely and died a hero's death in the cause of God, or else reached safety and found happiness. The stories about Nadīm were always on the lips of the fellahs and were passed on, by word of mouth, from village to village and from town to town. " Yesterday, while I was in Ṭanṭā " said the Khawājah to Nadīm, " I heard many stories about you. One group said that you had been riding with Arab tribesmen and gone to the Western desert where you had placed yourself under the protection of Western Arabs [Maghāriba] another said that you had fought at Tall-al-Kabīr and had fallen in battle there; the third, that you were in hiding at the consulate of a great power. I was amazed when I heard these stories.[2] " Such tales even reached the 'Umdah's house. " Stranger still " said Nadīm " a man came to see our friend, Shaykh Hamsharī, whose parlour was crowded with visitors and said: ' 'Abd Allāh Nadīm is safe now in the Sultan's palace ', and when the visitors asked him how and where he had heard this

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(1) Taymūr, op. cit., P.19.

(2) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1, P. 56.

news, the man replied: ' He [Nadīm] went to Damietta to join its unconquered regiment; later, however, he sailed to Syria on an orange boat, and then went to Jaffa, whence he proceeded to Istanbul. There he climbed the high minaret of the Sultan's mosque and called Adhān[1] between afternoon and sunset.[2] When the Sultan heard the Adhān at the wrong time, he had the caller brought before him. When he was asked to justify himself, the culprit answered: ' I did it to attract the attention of our lord, the Sultan, so that he should summon me; for I am your slave, 'Abd Allāh Nadīm, the Egyptian. ' Thereupon the Sultan rose and embraced Nadīm and said: ' God be praised for your safety, my son! Tell me your story, and how the Egyptian army was defeated. ' When Nadīm told him the whole story from A to Z, the Sultan was pleased that he was safe and ordered that he should be given an important position; but Nadīm begged the Sultan to give him a big army and navy to liberate the country from the hands of the British. "[3]

The government, however, did not desist from its search[4] so that Nadīm was under continuous nervous strain. He and his friends therefore considered it expedient to circulate, as a counter-measure the rumour that the Khawājah had received news from Italy that Nadīm had been seen in Leghorn. The news found credence and was even printed in the newspaper al-Ahrām which blamed the police for their carelessness and negligence.[5]

(1) Islamic call to prayer
(2) Which was not the usual time of prayer
(3) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1,pp.56,57; for other similar stories cf. Ibid.
(4) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1, pp. 17,18; Samīr, op.cit., P.13
(5) Samīr,op.cit.,P.13;Amīn, Zu'amā',P.232, Taymūr,op.cit., P.19.

Similar news was also printed in al-Mahrūsah: " Different stories are told about 'Abd Allāh Nadīm. Some of them maintain that he has fled to Italy; others say that he has escaped to Tripoli; some allege that he has gone to the Sudan where he has become the favourite companion of al-Mahdī; some people even go to the length of saying that he has gone to Ceylon to join 'Urābī; but, to the best of our knowledge, the truth is that he has recently arrived in Paris where he has published several articles, commenting on 'Urābī's revolution, criticising the Egyptians, and taxing them with weakness and cowardice for having yielded to the invader. " (1)

The ruse served its purpose insofar as the search for Nadīm was partly diverted from Egypt to Europe. Some furious agents of the Khedive even went to the length of despatching a secret mission to Italy to exterminate Nadīm there, but " they returned empty-handed and merely wasted their employer's money. " (2)

The belief that Nadīm had fled and was now out of reach resulted in a lessening of the intensity of the search, and consequently also in a decrease of Nadīm's nervous anxiety. This led to a more settled mode of life, and he began to think of communicating with the outside world. Although he regularly

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(1) Al-Mahrūsah, as quoted by Amīn, Zu'amā', P. 232.
(2) Samīr, op. cit., P.13; Kān Wa Yakūn, pp. 17, 18; Amīn, Zu'amā', P.232.

read the weekly al-Waṭan which was subscribed to for this purpose by a friend, presumably Shaykh Hamsharī, he wanted some more national newspapers to inform him of the current news,(1) such as the situation of the country under the occupation, and the fate of the nationalists after the breakdown of the movement. But his French friend tried to dissuade him from reading the national papers; " The local /i.e. national/ newspapers do nothing but denigrate the revolutionaries and instigate the government to retaliate and to increase the punishment... I do not want your mind to be troubled with what they contain which can by no means please you. They are not at freedom to speak about political matters in the same way as the European press because of the moral censorship exercised under the occupation. I will translate to you The Times, The Daily News, The Daily Telegraph among the English papers, and Les Débats, La République Française, Le Figaro among the French ones. I subscribe to all of them and they will suffice to keep you informed of the true political situation.(2) "

In his first years as a recluse, Nadīm communicated with the outside world through five different channels. There was, first and foremost, the Khawājah who, according to Nadīm's own

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(1) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol. i, P.53.
(2) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1. pp. 53,54.

words, was one of his most faithful friends, and his staunchest helpmate. He did not confine himself to literary collaboration, but also assisted Nadīm by buying him clothes, tobacco, writing materials, newspapers, providing him with sources for his research, and devoting to him a great deal of his time. It is the Khawājah who was Nadīm's link with Ṭanṭā and Cairo and who acted as Nadīm's messenger. When, having read the press reports of the hardship which had befallen the families of the nationalist leaders, Nadīm became solicitous about the fate of his own, it was the Frenchman who offered to go on reconnaissance. " Go to my worthy friend, the Shaykh known to us /presumably Shaykh Muṣṭafā/ and ask him about my family and what situation they find themselves in. Take this purse with you for my friend to recognise you by; I took it from him the day I left Cairo. "(1) The Khawājah's first attempt was abortive, for he failed to overcome Shaykh Muṣṭafā's suspicions.(2) The next time he went, the Khawājah brought the Shaykh a letter from Nadīm:"... my mind is troubled " wrote Nadīm, " by the lack of news from my father and my brother(3)... Give me, please, details of their fate

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(1) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1, P.89.

(2) For details cf., Ibid., pp. 89,90.

(3) Being very conservative in his ideas about women, he does mention his mother; for Nadīm's ideas about women, see below, PP. 488-497.

whatever the truth may be... My confidence in God is greater than my misfortune. Little do I care, therefore, about what the newspapers write about me... I am certain that nothing can happen but by the will of God, and people who are the slaves of God can neither influence nor alter what God wants to do. For whatever befalls me until the day I die was decreed at the beginning of eternity, and is unchangeable. Therefore, it is vain to speculate about future happenings, and this conviction is a relief to me in my anxiety. "[1] At length, Nadīm learnt that his family, though all alive, was living in precarious circumstances.[2]

Moreover, when the Frenchman read in the British newspapers that the House of Commons intended to discuss 'Urābī's revolution and the British military intervention in Egypt, and that the opposition was collecting material and documents to prove that what 'Urābī was leading was not a revolt but a revolution,[3] Nadīm asked the Khawājah to translate to him the whole of the parliamentary debate about Egyptian affairs:"... to help me in writing the book I intend to write on the Egyptian question from its origin in Sa'īd Pasha's time until the present day.

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(1) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1, pp. 205, 206

(2) For details, cf. Kān Wa Yakūn, pp. 208, 209

(3) W.S. Blunt was collecting material concerning the Egyptian Question, especially the Alexandria riots, for Lord Randolph Churchill to use in the parliamentary debate on the British Occupation of Egypt; cf. Blunt, Secret, pp. 497 - 534.

I want to add to my knowledge and my sources the material sources which the British possess, so that I should be able to deal with the problem from every angle, and especially with the secret aspects which are usually brought to light in such debates."(1)

The second link between Nadīm and the outside world was his host, Shaykh Hamsharī. He brought him the local news about the happenings in the district and messages from the Sufi Shaykh al-Qaṣabī. When he went on one of his frequent visits to Shaykh al-Qaṣabī and asked him whether he foresaw a speedy end of the calamity, the answer he brought Nadīm was by no means optimistic: " Shake off the fear and occupy yourself with prayer, especially at night. But have no hopes for this year or the next, for the end is distant, and only God knows. "(2)

The third link was Shaykh Aḥmad/'Ālim at Minyat al-Ghuraqā. " He writes to me regularly," says Nadīm, " and his letters are sent by a safe route every week. What he sends me is a brief résumé of the news and happenings in Cairo. I therefore profit by his letter more than by anything else: he is very

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(1) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1, pp.202, 203. The book in question, which was intended as the third volume of Kān Wa Yakūn, has been discovered recently (1956) under what appears to have been its original subtitle, Tārīkh Miṣr; however it was published under the title 'Abd Allāh Nadīm Wa Mudhakkirātuhu al-Siyāsiyyah.

(2) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1,pp.245,246; the Shaykh was more or less correct in this prediction, because Nadīm had to remain in hiding for about ten years.

careful in the selection of the material and never communicates anything but the truth. Thus I await his letters with an eagerness similar to that with which I long for this calamity to be dispelled. May God reward him with the best of His rewards."(1) The 'Ālim also supplied Nadīm with books and sources for his research,(2) and attended some discussions between Nadīm and the Khawājah in which he even actively participated,(3) and was denoted with the letters S and ʿ(4)

The fourth link was Shaykh Muṣṭafā in Cairo. As soon as he learnt from the Frenchman of Nadīm's whereabouts, he began to correspond with him by mail, and also through the intermediary of the Khawājah.(5) He also gave Nadīm news of his family(6) and used to dine with Shaykh Ahmad to discuss the news and send it on to Nadīm.(7)

The fifth link was his correspondence with 'Urābī, with whom he kept in touch by letters.(8) Depressed as he was by the hardships of his life in hiding, he still carried out, in spite of the great distance and long separation, the duties of 'Urābī's counsellor he had once undertaken. He informed

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(1) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1. P.207.
(2) Ibid., pp. 20 and 207.
(3) Cf. Ibid., pp. 219-225.
(4) Nadīm says that these two letters were half his name. cf. Ibid., P.219.
(5) Cf. Ibid., pp. 89, 90, 205-211.
(6) Ibid
(7) Ibid., P.209-210.
(8) Five of these letters have been preserved, but the exact number of letters written by Nadīm to 'Urābī is not known.

him of the internal events of Egypt under the occupation.[1] Furthermore, he proffered valuable advice when he learned of the split which had occurred between 'Urābī and his fellow-exiles in Ceylon. He advised him to be indulgent with his friends, bearing in mind the destructive effect of prolonged exile on human minds, to refrain from quarrels and practise forgiveness just because he was the leader. " Leniency will win them, but quarrels will lose them.[2] " When the dissension grew, and news of it became publicly known, Nadīm wrote to the group of revolutionary leaders in exile as a whole, addressing each of them by his full name and rank to propitiate them, and appealed to them, in the name of their previous solidarity, to desist from their quarrels. " Your reputation among your supporters is unequalled and the weight your words carry among your followers is immense... The minds of the people here are full of hopes for your glorious return, and their eyes look to you for guidance; but if you come back estranged, and at strife with one another, if your solidarity lacks strength and your party unity, people will condemn you and will avert their hearts and eyes from you. The judgment of history will reduce your stature and degrade you, disregarding your former merits, and Europe will deny your claim to national existence...[3] "

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(1) Cf. Tārīkh Miṣr, pp. 85-90.
(2) Tārīkh Misr, P.92
(3) Ibid, pp. 93,94.

A year after Nadīm's arrival at al-'Atawah, that is in 1884,[1] his host, Shaykh Hamsharī, died. This was a great blow to Nadīm; he had lost a faithful friend and protector, and did not know to whom to turn, for his real identity was unknown to anybody except the 'Umdah's widow. However, she proved as loyal to Nadīm as her husband had been. Her behaviour does her great credit, and is reminiscent of the great Arab women in the heroic era of Arab history. " She called her eldest son, [who later became 'Umdah], and disclosed the secret to him, saying: 'This our guest is, in fact, not Sharīf al-Madanī, but 'Abd Allāh Nadīm with the price of one thousand pounds on his head. Do you want to follow in your father's footsteps and honour him in his grave and yourself in your life and protect the refugee under your roof, or do you desire to purchase with these thousand pounds, the vanities of this world and shame for your family? But I warn you that in this case I will disown you even on the day of resurrection!' Her son replied: 'God forbid that I should disgrace my honour. You will find that I will take care of him as truly as of my own honour and no one will do him harm while there is still breath in me.'[2] "

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(1) Samīr, op.cit., P.14; Taymūr, op. cit., P.20.

(2) Samīr, op. cit., P.14; Taymūr, op. cit., pp.20,21; Amīn, Zu'amā', P.233.

Thus Nadīm remained under the roof of the family Hamsharī, and Shaykh Hamsharī's widow and son both faithfully kept their word; they protected him as effectively as the deceased Shaykh, and even chose reliable men among their friends to keep him company. One of them was Shaykh Khalīl, the Ma'dhūn of the village.(1) " They trust him, and he usually comes to see me, when the Khawājah has gone. I find comfort and companionship in his society... The other is Khalīl's brother, al-Ḥājj Shādhilī, the village barber,(2) who came to operate on an abscess in my armpit. My hosts have confidence in both these brothers... They are the only two people of the village allowed to see me... I always marvel at their courage, for they expose themselves to great risk by communicating with me. If you observe how they keep their secret in spite of threats and temptation, you will see that they are people of great courage and full of chivalry.(3)"

When it became more and more obvious that he would have to spend a long time in hiding, and the best thing he could do was to settle down to as regular a mode of life as possible,

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(1) Every village in Egypt has a Ma'dhūn to supervise its religious life and duties, though most Ma'dhūns have no higher education.

(2) He was the representative of the Ministry of Health in the village.

(3) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1, P.224.

a wife was chosen for him among the 'Umdah's daughters.[1] This was Nadīm's second marriage. By his first wife he had seven children: Muḥammad, 'Uthmān, Ilyās, Fāṭimah, 'Ā'ishah, Sukaynah and Khadījah, but all of them died in their childhood.[2] Also the daughter, Ḥafṣah, born to his second wife, died in her infancy.[3] Neither the date of his first marriage nor the name of his first wife can be ascertained on the basis of the sources available, but it can be inferred that he was already a married man when he was a telegraphist at al-Qaṣr al-'Ali.[4] Nadīm himself never directly refers to any of his wives;[5] this may be due to the Egyptian custom at the time which avoided the mention of a woman's name in public. Respectable women belonging to the upper and middle classes of society were not allowed to take part in social life outside their own home, and were never seen by any man except their near relatives.

When he had stayed in al-'Atawah for about four years,[6] (1883 - 1887) some distant relatives of the Hamshari family

(1) His servant was also given a wife. It was said that the servant's wife was a sister of Nadīm's wife, and that this was meant as a precaution to ensure that the secret would not be divulged. cf. Taymūr, op. cit., P.20. But it is more probable considering the difference of social status, that the servant's wife was a servant girl or poor relative, as Nadim himself later stated (in his interrogation) cf. al-Muqaṭṭam, 7.10.1891

(2) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1, P.19.

(3) Cf. Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1, P.19; Taymūr, op. cit., P.20.

(4) Cf. Sulafah, vol., 1, pp.71,72. In referring to his wife he says "my house"; cf. also P.43, he refer to her as "my family and children".

(5) For Nadīm's ideas about women see below pp 488-497.

(6) Taymūr op.cit., P.20; Samīr, op.cit., P.14; Amīn, Zu'amā', pp. 232, 233; al-Muqaṭṭam, 9.10.1891.

somehow got hold of the secret that a refugee sought by the police was hiding in the house of the Shaykh's widow, and decided to report the fact to the authorities, after a quarrel.[1] However, his hosts were warned of the impending visit of the police just in time for Nadīm to escape. He fled under the cover of darkness accompanied by Shaykh Khalīl,[2] wandering from village to village in the Gharbiyyah province.[3] " Into each town and village I went in a different garb and under a different name, and in each place I spoke with an accent and in a dialect corresponding with my disguise. I called myself Sī-al-Hājj 'Alī al-Maghribī, al-'Ālim al-Yemenī, al-Shaykh Jūsuf al-Madanī, al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Fayyūmī. I pretended to be al-Sharqāwī, al-Najdī, al-Subkī, al-Ghazzī, al-Nājī, al-Miṣrī. I trimmed my beard to match my disguise, leaving it long in a place in which I claimed to be a shaykh, and keeping it short in another where I pretended to be a traveller, dyeing it white in one place, red in another and black in a third."[4]

After Nadīm's sudden flight from al-'Atawah the police search became more intensive again, so that Nadīm did not

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(1) Cf. Al-Ustādh, P.893; Samīr, op. cit., P.14.

(2) Al-Ustādh, P.893.

(3) Samīr, op. cit., P.14.

(4) Al-Ustādh, pp. 7 and 9; Taymūr, op. cit., P.20; Samīr, op. cit., P.14.

remain overlong in one place. This constant displacement resulted in diverse calamities, but it seems that Nadīm always managed to find a way out of every predicament and overcame all the difficulties with great ingenuity and adroitness, mostly relying on his clever disguise and his unparalleled mastery of local dialects. On one occasion, when he was going to Ṭanṭā to catch the train to Kafr-al-Zayyāt, he met at the station a group of secret agents whose suspicion was immediately aroused; but when he calmly accosted them, as if he had nothing to fear or to hide, and began preaching to them about religion and Ṣūfīsm, their doubts were soon dispelled, and they firmly believed that he was one of the men of God. They even carried his bundle to the train, kissing his hands and asking for his blessing before his departure.(1)

After three months of this nomadic life, he went to al-Maḥallah al-Kubrā and then again to Minyat al-Ghuraqā, Sanhūr and al-'Ajūrayn.(2) Finally, he went, in 1887, to al-Qurashiyyah as the guest of a former leading nationalist, Aḥmad Pasha al-Minshāwī.(3)

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(1) Samīr, op. cit., P. 15.

(2) Al-Muqaṭṭam, 9.10.1891

(3) Taymūr, op.cit.,P.21; al-Minshāwī Pasha had been also brought to trial, but was set free thanks to the intercession of the British, because he had sheltered in his own house all the foreigners who came to him during the war; cf. al-Manār, vol., V, pp. 833,834,835; al-Qurashiyyah is in the Gharbiyyah province.

Presumably, al-Minshāwī Pasha knew the real identity of Nadīm. However, while he was his favourite companion, Nadīm adopted the disguise of a Yemenī 'Ālim, proficient in Islamic knowledge and the Arabic language. " I was disguised very carefully and changed my voice and dialect to such a degree that not even my own father could have recognised me. I used to sit with the people in the Majlis and at table during meals without any qualms, so certain was I that I was unidentifiable".(1)

Al-Minshāwī Pasha, a great lover of literature, was in the habit of holding literary circles attended by men of letters and 'Ulamā', some of whom were Shaykh Sa'd Zaghlūl,(2) al-Jawharī al-Minshāwī, Basyūnī Bey al-Minshāwī, and Nadīm's old friend, the poet Muhammad al-Tamīmī.(3) They were held at his mansion at al-Qurashiyyah. When Nadīm joined the circle, he probably distinguished himself from the start in composing poetry and rhymed prose. His literary talent attracted general attention, so that he soon won, in his new guise, a considerable reputation in literary circles. It spread widely until it reached Cairo.(4) " Shaykh Sa'd Zaghlūl, al-Jawharī al-Minshāwī and Basyūnī Bey al-Minshāwī and others have spoken about the part I have played in our sessions and discussions to Riyāḍ

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(1) Al-Ustādh, P.9.
(2) Later a prime minister and the leader of the national movement in Egypt in 1919.
(3) Taymūr, op.cit., P.21; Al-Ustādh, pp.8,9.
(4) Amīn, Zu'amā', pp. 231, 232; Al-Ustādh, pp. 8,9.

Pasha, to 'Uthmān Pasha Māhir and to Ḥusām al-Dīn Pasha. One day Shaykh Sa'd Zaghlūl arrived from Cairo with some literary and linguistic questions from Riyāḍ Pasha.[1] " The rising fame of the supposed Yemenī 'Ālim was the cause of the abrupt end to his five months' stay in al-Qurayshiyyah, during which he married for the third time.[2] To find himself in the sudden limelight when it would have been preferable to remain obscure was undoubtedly dangerous for a political refugee, and Shaykh al-Qaṣabī's secret organisation which planned his life in hiding seemed to be greatly perturbed by it. Therefore, he made up his mind to leave al-Qurashiyyah under the pretext of going on a pilgrimage to Mecca.[3] However, he returned to al-Qurashiyyah in Dhū al-Qa'dah 1305 A.H., (July 1887),[4] under the name of Sī al-Ḥājj 'Alī al-Maghribī and in the disguise of a Maghribī Shaykh.[5] This time he stayed with his old friend Muḥammad al-Tamīmī;[6] it is understood that he revealed the secret of his identity to this old and trusted friend. He remained in al-Qurashiyyah for only a

(1) For details of some of these questions, cf. Al-Ustādh, pp. 8,9,70,71.
(2) She was a daughter of Muṣṭafā Munā of al-Maḥallah al-Kubrā, cf. Taymūr, op. cit., P.21; also al-Muqaṭṭam, 6/7.10.1891. His second died before he settled down at al-Qurashiyyah.
(3) Al-Ustādh, P.9.
(4) Taymūr, op. cit., P.21.
(5) Cf. Al-Ustādh, P.9; Samīr, op.cit., P.14.
(6) Taymūr, op. cit, P.21.

a month and moved on to Daljamūn[1], and thence to al-Kūm-al-Tawīl[2], where he pretended to come from the Hijaz and spoke in the dialect of Medina[3]. Claiming to be a man of religion, he became the Imām of the village; he addressed the people in the Mosque every Friday, and taught them preliminary jurisprudence, theology and grammar[4]. In this village, and under such circumstances, he spent three whole years[5] (1887 - 1890) and, although he took an active part in public life and his reputation spread all over the neighbourhood, no one ever suspected the Imām of being Nadīm, and his real identity was known to no one except the members of the committee, organised years before by Shaykh al-Ṣasabī, that watched over his safety. Not even when confronted by members of official circles did he lose his presence of mind. Muṣṭafā Pasha Ṣubḥī, the then governor of Gharbiyyah, once visited the village and, having met Nadīm at the local 'Umdah's place, engaged him in a conversation on religious matters. At the end of the discussion the governor remarked: " Were I not so sure that Nadīm is dead and his days finished, I should say that this man is Nadīm himself. But glory be to God who has no like. "[6]

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(1) In the Buḥayrah province.
(2) In the Gharbiyyah province.
(3) Al-Muqaṭṭam, 5.10.1891
(4) Cf. al-Muqaṭṭam, 5/9.10.1891; Samīr, op.cit., P.15.
(5) Al-Muqaṭṭam, 9.10.1891
(6) Nadīm as quoted by Samīr, op. cit., P.15.

However, when he realised that his stay at al-Kūm-al-Tawīl had given rise to rumours, he went to al-Bakātūsh[1] where the secret committee had found new living quarters in the house of the local 'Umdah, Shaykh Ibrāhīm Harfūsh.[2] " Nadīm, " says Taymūr, the well-informed contemporary historian, " resided alternately in al-Bakātūsh and Shabās al-Shuhadā'[3] where he used to stay with the barber, Muḥammad Ma'bad. The honesty and generosity with which the latter treated Nadīm, putting himself in great jeopardy, is reminiscent of the famous hospitality which Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mahdī, fleeing from the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Ma'mūn, found with the barber of Baghdad.[4] Then he moved to his friend as well as ours, the poet perfect and man of letters Muḥammad Effendi Shukrī al-Makkī at Dusūq.[5] "

The members of the secret committee never slackened in their vigilance; indeed, the caution with which they arranged his life in hiding, and chose continually new places of concealment, the extraordinary secrecy with which they broke the news of Nadīm's identity even to an avowed nationalist like Muḥammad Shukrī, prove once more how greatly they valued the life and security of the only leader of the

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(1) In the Gharbiyyah province, cf. Taymūr, op. cit., P.21.
(2) Taymūr, op. cit., P.21.
(3) In the Gharbiyyah province; cf. Ibid; also al-Muqaṭṭam, 9.10.1891
(4) For the complete story, cf. Muḥammad Aḥmad Jād al-Mawlā Bey and others, Qaṣaṣ al-'Arab (Cairo 1939) vol., 1. pp. 304 - 310
(5) The chief clerk of a sub-district of the police; cf. Taymūr op. cit., P.21.

national movement still at large. Therefore Shaykh Ibrāhīm Harfūsh began having frequent calls on Muhammad Shukrī, on the occasion of which he broached with him the subject of nationalism, making covert allusions to the fate of the supporters of the national movement, and observing Muhammad Shukri's reactions. Only when he felt absolutely sure that the latter's heart was still with the nationalists, and that he was particularly anxious to hear about the fate of 'Abd Allāh Nadīm, did Shaykh Ibrāhīm disclose the secret to him.(1) "I was thrilled by the news", says Muhammad Shukrī, " and wrote two verses which I asked him to hand to Nadīm. Two days later he returned with a Qasīdah of a hundred verses composed by Nadīm, in answer to my verses, in the same rhyme and metre as mine. He stressed that he was longing to see me and described his days during the revolution and his present position. He expressed the hope that he would do such and such things in the cause of the nation if God freed him from this calamity, as if he had forgotten the plight he found himself in.(2) " Muhammad Shukrī was led with strict precautions to Nadīm's hide-out: " When we met " says Shukrī, " and my eyes looked into his, we embraced among tears, I kissed his hands and sat down,

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(1) For the complete story as told by Muhammad Shukrī himself to Ahmad Taymūr, cf. Taymūr, op. cit., pp. 21,22, 23.

(2) Taymūr, op. cit., p. 22.

talking about old things and new. Nadīm showed me the books he had written while in hiding, some of which were a Badī'iyyah, with excellent commentary but not yet completed, three Diwans of poetry and a volume of Kān Wa Yakūn."(1)

Later, Nadīm even stayed with his wife at Muḥammad Shukrī's place at Dusūq in the disguise of a Hijāzī, pretending to be a cousin of the host from Hijaz.(2) He made Dusūq his permanent residence, but continued to travel from there to different places in a different disguise.(3)

It seems, however, that something had aroused the suspicions of the police, for the organisation found it expedient to shift him from Dusūq to new quarters in Barriyyat al-Manzūrah in 1890.(4) There, Nadīm suffered great hardship due to the increased intensity of the police search, and to the proportionately increasing fear of the people to become involved. " I lived in a hut surrounded by waste land with no neighbour in sight... When the Great Bairam approached we had neither grain nor condiments...

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(1) Taymūr, op. cit., pp. 22, 23.
(2) Ibid, P.23.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Al-Ustādh, p. 316; Amin, Zu'amā' pp. 233, 234; Barriyyat al-Manzūrah is in the Buḥayrah province.

Our clothes became threadbare; we fell on hard times... When my servant came to me to complain of the need he suffered, and to tell me how badly he needed my help, I thought of my friends and how weary they must have become of hiding me over such a long span /for he had been, by then, a full eight years in hiding/, and that they must have despaired of my position ever improving. I abandoned the idea of sending my servant to beg the help of any of them, and he took up his saddlebag and left disappointed. "(1) The accumulated reaction to years of hardship and suffering broke through at last; Nadīm's morale was at its lowest ebb at that time, lower than ever before since he had gone into hiding. It was the first time he rebelled against his fate, but even now he did not blame his friends for forsaking him since they had done all they could, but tried to justify their apparent indifference. In an interesting letter written to a friend in freely rhymed prose alternating with verse, Nadīm described his plight in moving words: " The hands of the people have become dry, and have ceased being generous; how am I to draw water from the well with my bucket if its rope, the thin thread of hope, has broken. Since rumours have increased out of all proportion, people

(1) Cf. Al-Ustādh, p.316. Nadīm's servant was living with his wife at al-Jummayzah in the Gharbiyyah province.

fear possible harm, and the long duration has roused despair in their hearts; some of my brothers are ignorant of my abode, but if they discovered it, I am sure they would bring solace. Others have zeal to help but their hands are idle, for they cannot afford it; do they think I would ask a scoundrel's help, even if I had to drink brine and eat sand? Nay, I swear by the name of God, I will not, for, in my breast, I have a fastidious heart, and Arab virtues in my bosom.[1] " He was comforted by a visit from his friend Shaykh Ahmad.[2] " When we were discussing my problems, Shaykh Ahmad remarked: ' I am quite certain that Sharīf Idrīsī[3] loves helping you, and is even jealous to share the duty with others! ...' However, he persuaded me to write a letter to him.[4] "

It was a long letter, written in masterly Badī' style, culminating in a Qasīdah.[5] " The reason why I composed such a long letter is that my friend loves my prose and my verse and even knows a certain quantity of it by heart.[6] " Hardly two days had elapsed when the reply arrived, and the Sharīf's response exceeded Nadīm's expectations: he sent

(1) Al-Ustādh, P.321
(2) The 'Ālim from Minyat al-Ghuraqā.
(3) Most probably a reference to Shaykh al-Qasabī
(4) Al-Ustādh, P.316.
(5) For the complete text of theletter cf. Al-Ustādh, pp.317-327
(6) Ibid, p. 328.

food, clothes and even silk robes, so that Nadīm's desolate habitation overflowed with his presents.(1)

Nadīm's friends had protected him for eight years from every possible danger, but could not prevent a danger which was threatening him now from within and which was beyond their control: his situation was aggravated by his third unhappy marriage. His wife who shared with him his living quarters at Barriyat al-Manzūrah was shrewish and ill-tempered. " She frequently annoyed him by her behaviour and it was beyond his power to curb her temperament. She added to his worries by her endless bickering so much that he even thought of giving himself up to the police to escape domestic trouble... "(2) Her outbursts of temper were not confined to her husband. When she went to visit Nadīm's servant at al-Jummayzah she soon quarrelled with his wife and nearly caused Nadīm's secret to leak out. When the servant hurriedly broke the news to Nadīm, he set out for al-Jummayzah to put things right between them, disguised as and under the name of Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Shahāwī.(3) However, pleased with the reception he found on the part of the inhabitants of the village he stayed at al-Jummayzah.

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(1) Al-Ustādh, p.316.

(2) For details cf. Taymūr, op. cit., P.23.

(3) Al-Muqaṭṭam, 10.10.1891

The local people were fascinated by his talents, eloquence and teaching and the 'Umdah seems to have known his identity and faithfully kept the secret.[1] It was Nadīm himself who neglected to take the usual precautions and was too reckless, taking part openly in local gatherings, and that brought the final disaster.[2] There was a retired police detective in al-Jummayzah who had once participated in the search for Nadīm, and who now grew suspicious, and anxious to collect the reward, he reported to the Khedivial palace and the Ministry of the Interior that Nadīm was hiding at al-Jummayzah. Immediate measures ordered by the authorities proved instantaneously effective. Detachments of police cordoned off the village and proceeded to the house where they expected to find Nadīm. This led to his arrest on October 2nd, 1891.[3] Fortunately, the police failed to lay hands on his manuscripts which contained a considerable number of Qaṣīdahs satirising the Khedive and the régime then in power.[4]

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(1) Taymūr, op. cit., P.23.

(2) His name was Hasan al-Fararjī

(3) For details cf., Taymūr, op. cit. pp.23,24,25; al-Muqaṭṭam 3,5,6,9, October 1891; Al-Ustādh, P.4; the detective was disappointed in his expectation for the reward was limited to a certain period of time which had already expired, cf. Taymūr, op. cit., P.25.

(4) Taymūr, op. cit. P.25.

Up to the moment of his arrest, Nadīm had spent almost a decade in hiding. His astonishing success in evading a systamatic and intensive police search over such a long period of time can be ascribed to several factors. There was, first of all, the unusual cleverness with which he effectively changed his outward appearance, even disguising his features in strict accordance with the type he wanted to represent. Coupled with the still more extraordinary mastery of several Arabic dialects like Maghribī, Yemenī, Ḥijāzī and those of Upper and Lower Egypt, it made him virtually unrecognisable to the uninitiated. Altogether, he changed his name and appearance more than nine times.(1) The second element of his success was the integrity and sincere devotion of the organisation sponsered by Shaykh al-Ṣaṣabī which planned his life in hiding.

The third factor which greatly contributed to his success in keeping hidden for ten years was his social talents. His famous gift for conducting a pleasant conversation with high and low, which made people rate his society so highly that they hastened to his help, proved of undoubted practical value in this emergency. " No wonder; he was sweet in company, eloquent in conversation and smooth of tongue, which no one can deny, and this attracted the hearts to him as the magnet attracts iron. Therefore, none of the trustworthy people who sheltered him

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(1) Al-Ustādh, pp. 7,9; Samīr, op. cit.,p.14; Amīn, Zu'amā', p.231

cared about the threat of prison or exile or any other penalty the government imposed. "(1)

The fourth factor was his nearly inexhaustible patience and his ability to endure privations and hardship which defeated physical and mental pain. They were instrumental in overcoming the calamities that befell him and resulted from his faith in God, his confidence in divine justice and the belief that everything that happened had been decreed in eternity. He believed that " with every difficulty, there is a relief. "(2) His trust in divine providence supported him to a great extent in his plight.

" All these accidents " wrote Nadīm in a letter to a friend while he was in hiding, " have been written in eternity; the position of each of us is predetermined, and God does not choose for a calamity but those who believe. Nothing can withstand the storm but the mountain. If the catastrophe comes upon you as a storm with great noise, and presses you down with its burden, what does the mind imagine? In any event, can the result be more than either life or death? And they, no one rules over them but God, and before we came into the world ' naught of disaster befalleth in the earth or in yourselves but it is in a book.' "(3)

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(1) Samīr, op.cit., p.14.
(2) Qur'ān, Sūrat al-Inshirāḥ, 'Āyah No,6;cf.Al-Ustādh, pp.318, 321.
(3) Qur'ān, Sūrat al-Ḥadīd, Āyah No. 22.

" If you ask about me... in the daytime, I do not think about what the night will bring, I do not busy my thought with the impending sequences of troubles and catastrophes. The length of my hiding does not pain me, for I believe that people are led by Providence and act, in place and time, as they are fated to. I believe that every catastrophe will have its end; and when it comes, the morass will dry up, and the condition will improve... "(1)

The fifth factor was the hope that he never ceased to cherish that the nation would rise against the occupation and that 'Urābī would return triumphant to lead them to freedom.(2) " You have before you, " wrote Nadīm to 'Urābī, " a future whose guardian you are, gathering around you a party as its leader. Study the Egyptian events in the school of nationalism which you yourself have founded, and keep in mind the history of the nation you led. We were then still at the primary stage, we have now reached the preparatory stage and shall, by the will of God, embark on the advanced stage when the world acclaims you again. "(3) In another letter to 'Urābī, he states that the hopes of the supporters of the national movement continued to be focused on 'Urābī even long

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(1) Al-Ustādh, pp, 318 - 320.
(2) Cf. Tārīkh Miṣr, pp. 82,92, 93.
(3) Tārīkh Miṣr, p.82.

after his expulsion: " The plight of your freedom-loving supporters after your expulsion and their sufferings were soothed by the light of God in their hearts... they drank the love potion and then they rallied... if any of them had been addressed as 'Urābīst, he would have been happy and pleased as if he had dug up a buried treasure; their tongues never stop speaking about you, and their gatherings resound with your praise. Not only that, the ranks of your supporters have been increased by those who used to hate you before as soon as they realised how the corruption /of the new régime/ was corroding their lives; now their hopes have taken another turn. At present they show even more eagerness to follow you than your old supporters. If a letter from you reaches one of your faithful followers he takes it on a round of all his friends to be read to them, and it sets all our spirits rejoicing. You are in Egypt, though your body is in Ceylon. "(1) His belief in the national movement, his faith in 'Urābī's leadership and his indifference to personal advancement are even more strongly formulated in another letter:

" If I hope for your return it is not for personal gain; you know in what doctrine I believe; I called on the nation to obey you in the national cause, filling the press with

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(1) For the full text of this letter cf. Tārīkh Miṣr, p.90

articles and the meetings with speeches and ripostes to foreign and hostile attacks on you for no other reason but patriotism.

" The religion in which I was bred and the doctrine I have loved and defended is to give the people freedom to reform the country for the glory of Islam; I devoted my newspaper to these ideas for them to prevail in the country. "(1)

The sixth factor was that he kept his mind occupied by literary and religious pursuits and by composing and reciting poetry. " My thought is my friend ", he wrote in a letter to a friend, " and my pen my companion; I transmit to it what is in my mind, it preserves it in written lines, and returns it to me as a book... At times I occupy myself with chapters on Usūl , and collate the ideas of the Sunnīs; at other times, I compose peerless poems in the form of Qasīdas, and at other times I write literary epistles on different subjects. Sometimes I deal with the Sūfīs and their orders,... and sometimes with customs and ethics. Geography has not escaped my pen. Sometimes I travel from nation to nation on the boat of history, and at other times busy myself interpreting the variety of Badī' styles in the eulogy of the Prophet... by now

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(1) For the full text of this letter, cf. Tārīkh Misr, p. 93-95.

I have finished twenty books, large and small; look at the mercy of God, how He turns the calamity to benefit! How could I have written all these books before I went into hiding? I was as busy... as a machine propelled by steam, and even forgot my own sons. "(1)

The seventh and perhaps most important factor was that the sympathy with the national movement had never died out in the hearts of the people, and expressed itself in the loyal and sincere support afforded to Nadīm by the fellahin as well as the 'Umdahs in spite of the grave personal danger to which they exposed themselves in giving him sanctuary, and in spite of the great temptation some of them, needy people as they were, must have experienced with regard to the price put on his head. " From the chivalrous and courageous people that I met " said Nadīm, " I received what I would never have expected. I would never have believed what they were if I had been told it before, and the account would have sounded strange and incredible, especially as most of those who sheltered me stood in no relationship whatever to me: there were neither blood ties nor friendship to link us together, and I had not entered their village for any purpose before I went into hiding. "(2) He was

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(1) Al-Ustādh, pp.319,320; cf. also, P.3,1025,1026; Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1, P.2.

(2) Al-Ustādh, P.7; cf. also Samīr, op.cit., P.14; Amīn, Zu'amā', pp. 232, 233.

greatly impressed by the qualities he discovered in the character of the fellahin. " I have found, " he says, " chivalrous people who keep their word and face an emergency with great determination. Their heart never recoils when they are confronted by a calamity, because it is full of trust in God and as firm as a rock in keeping the secret. I have found in their generosity what puts to shame those famed in history for their generosity, annihilates the mean, and dazzles the poets. I came to them pursued by the government and hunted by the police, wary and watchful and full of fear. They harboured me as their beloved and one of their own kin, and were patient when calamity followed on calamity. "(1)

The readiness of the fellahin and the notables, and even some members of the administration to defy government orders and to spurn the temptation of a reward of a thousand pounds which represented untold wealth to a fellah, in order to help Nadīm, is one more proof of the well-established fact that the national movement was deeply rooted in Egyptian hearts.

But he, for his part, was not less faithful. After his arrest, he was held in custody at al-Santah police station as a political detainee. In vain did the police try to extort from him the names and addresses of those who had sheltered

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(1) Al-Ustādh, pp. 318, 319.

him; he remained adamant in his silence. " Their attempts were in vain, for my determination remained unshaken, and I assured the prosecution that none of my hosts had had a notion who I really was. "[1] However, his servant broke down under torture and betrayed the names of some who were immediately arrested.[2] Later, Nadīm was transferred to Ṭanṭā for interrogation by the prosecution, and was there more respectfully treated.[3]

The sensation caused in society, press and official circles by Nadīm's capture after so many years on the run was immense. His arrest brought back to people's minds the memory of his rôle in the national movement which was again on everybody's lips. The press began to clamour for an amnesty for their old friend.[4] The cabinet met several times and in the last session on October 12th, 1891, it decided to free Nadīm as well as those who had been imprisoned for sheltering him. Nadīm himself was banished to Palestine.[5] The last leader of the national movement to leave Egypt was seen off by crowds of people, apparently staunch supporters of the national movement. There was the ironic spectacle of the governor of

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(1) Al-Ustādh, pp.7,8; cf. also, al-Muqattam, 5.10.1891; Taymūr, op.cit., p.25; Amīn, Zu'amā', p.236.

(2) Cf. Ibid.

(3) Cf. Ibid.

(4) Al-Muqaṭṭam, 5.10.1891; for more details of his arrest cf. Ibid., 5,6,9.10.1891; Al-Ustādh, pp. 7,8.9.

(5) Al-Muqaṭṭam, 13 and 15.10.1891.

of Alexandria, 'Uthmān Pasha 'Urfī,[1] seeing off on behalf of the government, a nationalist banished for political offences. It was a tactful move on the part of the British authority that Nadīm was treated with respect obviously in order to placate the already greatly excited population.

Nadīm decided on Jaffa as his new residence. When he reached Jaffa harbour on October 15th 1891, the news of his arrival, which had preceded him, brought large numbers of people, who welcomed him enthusiastically and paid homage to him. Among them there was a number of 'Ulāma', men of letters and local notables.[2] Having spent a month at the house of al-Sayyid 'Alī Abū al-Mawāhib, the Mufti of Jaffa, as the latter's guest, Nadīm settled down in a house of his own.[3] His salon became, from the very first, the focal point of attention and the centre of the intellectual life of the city. His society was always greatly sought after and he was usually surrounded by crowds of admirers.[4]

However, a change was to come before long. On Tawfīq Pasha's death,[5] 'Abbās II acceded to the throne and on February

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(1) Samīr, op.cit., P,15; Al-Ustādh, P.8.

(2) Taymūr, op.cit., P.25; Samīr, op.cit.,P.16.

(3) Ibid; it has been said that when Nadim entered the Mufti's house and introduced himself his host and he embraced amid tears and smiles. cf. Taymūr, op. cit., P.25.

(4) Samīr, op.cit., P.16; Amīn, Zu'amā', P.237; Taymūr, op.cit., P.25; Al-Ustādh, P.258,259,312

(5) On 7.1.1892.

3rd, 1892 proclaimed in distinct oppostion to his father's policy a general amnesty for all the partisans of the national movement.(1) Nadīm's name was specially mentioned.

Though overjoyed at the news of the amnesty, he did not return to Egypt immediately, but set out in the company of one of the Jaffa notables on a tour of the Holy Land by which he was fascinated.(2) In March 1892, they ascended Mount Sinai on whose summit he made the acquaintance of some members of the sect of Samaritans who had come there on their customary pilgrimage. He read their books, discussed religious matters with their divines, acquiring thus a certain knowledge of their faith and beliefs.(3) These discussions provided him with the material for the book al-Tadhkirah al-'Āmirah Fī 'Ahwāl al-Sāmirah,(4) which he himself described as the first of its kind. Besides, he went to see what were claimed to be tombs of many prophets of Israel. When they visited Nablus, he was received with all honours by the local intellectuals;

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(1) The proclamation did not include the seven leaders of the movement exiled to Ceylon; the British government had objected to their being granted a pardon, for their memory was still too vivid in the hearts of the Egyptians.
(2) Samīr, op. cit. P.16; Taymūr, op. cit., pp. 25,26.
(3) Al-Ustādh, P.259; cf. also Taymūr, op. cit., P.25.
(4) Al-Ustādh. P.259

like everywhere else, he dazzled and impressed the people there by his eloquence and his vast knowledge. " I myself " says Jalabī al-Sāmirī, " and the worthy citizens of our city heard him say things that amazed us and filled us with admiration. He used to spend days or nights being questioned and giving answers with the greatest eloquence and the strongest proofs. " (1) From Nablus they went to Sabtiya to see what is said to be the tomb of John the Baptist and hence by way of Nablus to Bethlehem. Furthermore, they visited the Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem and several other sacred places, (2) including Moses' tomb; he also attended the annual Nabī Musā festival in May 1892. (3)

Nadīm returned to Egypt and public life after ten years' absence on May 9th 1892. (4) However, neither the country nor public life were what they had been a decade before. Not only the country, but also Nadīm himself had undergone a radical change. He was nearly forty-seven now; his health had suffered

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(1) From a letter written by Jalabī al-Sāmirī from Nablus; cf. Al-Ustādh, pp. 258, 259.

(2) Cf. Samīr, op.cit., P.16; Taymūr, op.cit., P.25; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, vol. iii, p. 110.

(3) Nadim believed that he owed his amnesty to the intercession of the prophet Moses. He related that after a prayer in which he had asked him to intervene in his favour, Moses appeared to him in a dream in the night before the amnesty and said to him: "Wake up and go home!" The next morning the amnesty was proclaimed: cf. Nadīm's letter to Samīr as quoted by Taymūr, op.cit., pp.25,26.

(4) Al-Muqattam, 11.5.1892; Shafīq, op. cit., vol., 11, P.36.

under the strain of the ten years spent in the wilderness; his hair had become grey, making him look older than his age.(1) Spiritually, he had greatly matured in both knowledge and general outlook in these ten contemplative years. The fact that most of his reading matter was of religious and Ṣūfī provenance gave him a distinctly religious orientation with a marked tendency towards Ṣūfism which found expression in the very way he dressed. It has been stated that he wore European clothes until the breakdown of the revolution, and that the circumstances of his life in hiding compelled him to change his outward appearance in accordance with the rôle he assumed. It is very probable, however, that the idea crystallised in his mind during his forced retreat that it would be both fitting and expedient to stress, by the very way he looked and dressed, the fact that he was descended from the Prophet, and he wore the garb of the Sharīf, i.e. a descendant of the Prophet, consisting of a green turban, a qaftān and a flowing cloak on the day he was arrested, and that he continued wearing it for the rest of his days.(2) From that day onward the word al-Sayyid always preceded his name. Thus he was addressed, henceforward as al-Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Nadīm, instead of 'Abd Allāh Effendi

(1) Kān Wa Yakūn, vol., 1, P.11.
(2) The matter is fully discussed later, see below PP. 512-515.

Nadīm. Even his attitude towards the Egyptian dynasty had also changed, since the new Khedive showed sympathy to the nationalists, and pursued a policy diametrically opposed to that of his late father.

The only factor that never changed about Nadīm was his belief in his principles: his country's right to liberty, self-determination and democratic life. This was the axiom on which his life rested, in this he was as firm as a rock, and neither time nor circumstances could affect it at all. He always and invariably believed in " the religion in which I have grown up, and the doctrine which I incline to: the liberation of my people and the reform of my country, the glory of my religion and the support of the believers. "(1)

It should be stressed once more that if any fact about Nadīm's life in this period is established beyond controversy, it is the survival of his belief in the national movement in which he had played a leading rôle. It can be stated with certainty that this conviction was genuine and strong and remained unshaken. What is more, Nadīm's experiences in this period prove also the fellah's loyalty to the national movement which had been the first attempt to free him from bondage.

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(1) Tārīkh Miṣr, P.94.

CHAPTER V

THE SECOND PHASE OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT.

1892-1896.

Nadīm's Return to Public Life, Second Exile and Death.

1892-1896.

Nadīm spent the first two months after his return from exile in trying to retrace the ten missed years of Egypt's development under the British occupation, and to salvage what might have survived from the revolutionary period. He began by resuming old contacts;(1) his chief meeting place with prominent pro-nationalists and old friends was the mansion of Laṭīf Pasha Salīm.(2) Soon he realised that Egypt had changed out of recognition in every respect, and that the British occupation of the country had assumed every aspect of permanency. Although the British had given, time and time again, the assurance that their occupation of Egypt would be merely provisional and would automatically come to an end as

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(1) Cf. Samīr, op.cit., P.16-17.
(2) Zaki Rustum, my conversation with, op.cit.

soon as peace and order were restored,[1] events proved up to the hilt that it was their intention to stay indefinitely, in order to protect the vital road to India. He observed that all the reforms previously carried through in both the national army and the navy had been annulled, and that the Egyptian officers had disappeared from the public scene.[2] The Egyptian police had also been placed under British command so that the whole power of the nation was in British hands.[3] He also found that the costs of maintenance of the British army stationed on Egyptian soil to enforce the occupation formed a heavy additional burden on the shoulders of the Egyptian taxpayer;[4] that all the achievements of the long struggle had virtually disappeared, that the Organic Law of February, 1882, had been abolished and the National Assembly replaced by a legislative council whose only task was to approve the proposals of the government, but which lacked the power and the right to make or even to suggest amendments.[5] Every department of the administration with the

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(1) For details cf, Rothstein, op.cit, P.P.333-335; Alfred Milner, England in Egypt, (London 1893), P.P.32-33.
(2) For details cf. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ṣafwat, al-Iḥtilāl al-Injlīzī Li Miṣr (Cairo 1946), P.P.221-223; 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfi'ī, Miṣr wa al-Sūdān fī 'Awā'il 'Ahd al-Iḥtilāl, (Cairo 1942) P.P.10-16.
(3) For details cf. ibid.
(4) Rāfi'ī, Miṣr, P.20.; Ṣafwat, op.cit., P.P.241-242.
(5) Cf. al-Waqā'i', 2.5.1883; 1.1.1884; 9.2.1884; 10.9.1884.

only exception of the Waqf Ministry was headed by a foreign director.[1] "All native authority had been overthrown at one blow, and their place was taken by foreigners without knowledge either of the customs or even of the language of the people, who only knew how to issue peremptory orders and to punish their infraction with severity ..."[2] Nadīm found that there was nothing left of the social reforms whose introduction had been the main objective of the national movement: "Instead of proceeding on the path of reform, the occupation continued to concern itself exclusively with finance, and left the work of social and moral reconstruction to the newly organised system of police ... which placed between the population and the traditional administration ... the English police official with the traditions of Scotland Yard ... the results could not fail to be what they are ..."[3] He was grieved by the havoc the occupation had wrought in the field of education: "The neglect of education" as has been stated by a contemporary historian "is, indeed, one of the outstanding features of Lord Cromer's rule, and is characteristic of his entire administration. When occupying the

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(1) Cf. al-Waqā'i', 6.2. and 25.3. and 17.5. and 20.5.1883, also 7.8.1884; 19.1.1885; 27.11.1889.
(2) Rothstein, op.cit., P.314; cf. also P.P.324-325.
(3) Rothstein, op.cit., P.P.314-315.

country, the English made much capital out of the alleged unripeness of the Egyptian people for self-government, and in his famous report Lord Dufferin faithfully promised that the development of education will be one of the foremost concerns of the new rulers in order that 'the cry of Egypt for the Egyptians should not be a vain one' but there is a vast distance between promise and performance in all dealings of the English with Egypt, and in no other domain has it been so great as in that of education."(1)

Nadīm, the pioneer of liberty through education, who had devoted to this problem a great part of the thought and effort of his early days, clearly perceived the main defect of the educational methods applied by the British in Egyptian schools, namely the practice of filling the teaching posts by imported Englishmen instead of by Egyptians, which was equivalent to an attempt to impose upon the nation a foreign language and foreign ways of thought. Since the British endeavoured to transform Egypt into a British colony, the schools were used as a means of spreading their language and their habits of thought.(2) The teaching was systematically carried on in English and to a minor extent in French, to the detriment of Arabic. There was no lack of complaints, but the

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(1) Rothstein, op.cit., P.315; for details cf. Rāfi'ī, Miṣr, P.P. 203-206.
(2) Cf. Rothstein, op.cit., P.322.

invariable objection was that it was not a scientific language.[1]

This is how the Lord Milner describes the conditions in Egypt in the early days of the occupation: "We were in absolute possession of the country, We had smashed the de facto government, and the government de jure was a phantom, there was, for the moment no authority but that of our army, no law but our will."[2] "Advice" was only a charming euphemism by which the British politely replaced the harsh word "order", for Lord Granville himself very vigorously interpreted the term "advice" in a telegram to Sir Evelyn Baring[3] on January 4th, 1884 "... the advice which, after full consideration of the views of the Egyptian Government, they may feel it their duty to tender to the Khedive, should be followed. It should be made clear to the Egyptian Ministers and Governors of provinces, that the responsibility which for the time rests on England obliges Her Majesty's Government to insist on the adoption of the policy which they recommend, and that it will be necessary that those Ministers and Governors who do not follow this course should cease to hold their offices."[4] In short, in spite of British statements to "the contrary, it was a veiled

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(1) Cf. Cromer, op.cit., vol. ii, P.529.
(2) Milner, op.cit., P.30.
(3) ie. Lord Cromer.
(4) Milner, op. cit., p. 33.

protectorate of uncertain extent and indefinite duration for the accomplishment of a difficult and distant object."(1) It is needless to stress that Nadīm must have observed the servility of the Khedive Tawfīq exhibited in all his dealings with the occupying power to which he owed his return to the throne, and the demoralising effect it had on the nation.(2) According to Cromer's "advice" he chose his ministers among men inclined to obey British orders like Nūbār, Riyāḍ, Muṣṭafā Fahmī. "They were even more subservient to the occupiers than the Khedive himself. In fact, the Khedive and his ministers vied with one another in compliance with British demands."(3) The Egyptian notables and intellectuals were either satisfied with the positions they occupied in the government and intent on remaining in office by punctiliously executing British orders, or else merely preoccupied with their private affairs to the point of indifference to and negligence in public matters.(4) Even those who had been enthusiastic supporters of the national movement, including some who had taken active part in all the events of the revolution like Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh, 'Abd Allāh Pasha Fikrī, 'Alī Pasha Mubārak and Sa'd Zaghlūl, had repudiated the national movement and disowned their own part

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(1) Milner, op.cit., P.34.
(2) For details cf. Wilfred Scawen Blunt, My Diaries, (London 1919-1920), vol. i, P.15; 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfi'ī, Muṣṭafā Kāmil Bā'ith al-Ḥarakah al-Waṭaniyyah (Cairo 1945), P.25; M. Muṣṭafā, Tārīkh Miṣr, P.257.
(3) Rāfi'ī, Muṣṭafā, P.25; cf. also M. Muṣṭafā, Tārīkh Miṣr, P.257; Blunt, My Diaries, vol. 1, P.103.
(4) Rāfi'ī, Muṣṭafā, P.25.

in it for the sake of collaboration with the occupation. They endeavoured to pave their way to high office not merely by tacit consent, but even by offers of friendship to the invader, a fact of which the British authorities made extensive use. As regards the civil service, Lord Cromer's policy made it virtually impossible to retain one's position or to obtain promotion except at the price of denunciation of the national movement; public acknowledgment of the benefits of the occupation alone could pave the way to a career.(1) If such was the attitude of the notables, the intellectuals, the ideological leaders of the country, what could be expected from the rank and file? They had been twice disappointed in their leaders who had lacked presence of mind, determination and endurance in their hour of trial, when the national movement broke down, and then exhibited such remarkable indifference and indolence under the occupation , leaving them no one to look to for guidance. It had become fashionable to disdain and disparage patriotism; abased and cringing, cowardly and hypocritical, the people were ready and eager to humble themselves for the sake of their own selfish aims(2), and had degenerated into opportunists, devoid of any higher idea or motive.

(1) Rāfi'ī, Misr, P.198-199.
(2) Ibid., P.198.

Nadīm could not but have observed the damaging effect of this policy. which, was that it affected the morals of the nation. The subordination of Egyptian ministers and top-ranking civil servants to the British and the humiliating treatment of the nationalist leaders had wounded the pride of the Egyptians to the core. The prolonged vigorous defamation of the national movement which accused its leaders of merely seeking personal advancement, and above all the deplorable breakdown of 'Urābī who-at least as the public had been made to believe - had humbled himself to obtain his release and save his property,had had the deleterious effect of destroying the country's confidence in itself and the leaders of their own countrymen. To make matters worse, 'Urābī, affected by long exile and seeking amnesty from the British, publicly declared that the occupation had been of profit to the country,(1) so that Nadīm,who had always looked up to 'Urābī as the protagonist of the movement, and had fervently hoped that the nation would rise again under his leadership, seems to have lost confidence in the man as well as the leader; at least, he never again referred to him after that.

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(1) While in exile in Ceylon, for details cf.Rāfi'ī,al-Thawrah, P.I. 554-557.

THE EGYPTIAN PRESS IN THE FIRST DECADE OF THE BRITISH OCCUPATION.

Nadīm found that the freedom which the Egyptian press had gained during the short-lived rule of the last national movement had also suffered. In fact, the Egyptian press found itself under the occupation in a rather equivocal position, although the opinion prevailing in Europe on the position of the Egyptian press was that it enjoyed complete freedom of restriction under the occupation. It must be pointed out that if the word freedom is taken to mean that neither Lord Cromer nor the British authorities ever directly issued an explicit order confiscating or suspending an Egyptian paper, or ever refused the issue of a new press licence, this is undoubtedly true; but with reference to the real position of the Egyptian press at that time, it was a palpable untruth. In fact, the newspapers which were not fully eulogistic of the occupation were treated with the utmost severity, not by the British themselves, but by Egyptian officials - mere tools in British hands - who, deprived of the power to issue directives, were only echoing and implementing British orders.(1)

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(1) 'Abduh, Taṭawwur, p. 137.

Facts are the best evidence that this opinion was unfounded. After the collapse of the revolution, the newspapers al-Zamān and al-Safīr were confiscated for overt criticism of the occupation.(1) al 'Urwah al-Wuthqā, the organ of Jamāl al-Dīn them published in Paris was banned and anybody found with a copy on him was fined five pounds.(2) The same ban was imposed on Abū Naḍḍārah which was also published in Paris.(3) al-Waṭan was confiscated on March 11,1884;(4) so was Mir'āt al-Sharq.(5) The above mentioned al-Zamān was confiscated repeatedly.(6) al-Iskandariyyah and al-Burhān in Alexandria suffered the same fate.(7) al-Ahrām was warned and then suspended for a month.(8) al-Ṣādiq was warned on September 25th, 1886.(9) No previously confiscated newspaper was given leave to resume publication, unless it gave the solemn undertaking not to embark on any further criticism of the existing conditions.(10) The government also issued an order prohibiting civil servants from contributing to newspapers or supplying them with information.(11)

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(1) 'Abduh, Taṭawwur, P.137; they reappeared later, having given the solemn undertaking to abandon their critical attitude, cf. al-Waqā'i', 2.8.1886.
(2) Al-Waqā'i', 15.5.1884.
(3) 'Abduh, al-Ṣaḥafī al-Thā'ir, P.P.64-65.
(4) Al-Waqā'i', 12.3.1884.
(5) Rāfi'ī, Miṣr, P.184.
(6) Al-Waqā'i', 2.8.1886.
(7) 'Abduh, Taṭawwur, P.138.
(8) Al-Waqā'i', 21.8.1884.
(9) Rāfi'ī, Miṣr, P.184.
(10) For further details cf. 'Abduh, Taṭawwur, P.P.133-164.
(11) Naqqāsh, op.cit., vol.vi, P.P.242-243.

Arabic newspapers were not the only ones to suffer this severe censorship on the part of the government - or rather the British who were the driving power behind the scenes - some of the French papers which were consistently opposed to the policy of the occupation, met with the same fate. Strangely enough, even the Egyptian Gazette (1) "the organ of English public opinion in Egypt" received on one occasion a warning and was then fined twenty pounds for transgressing the limits of the permissible and taking sides with the nationalists. (2) In April, 1885, the French newspaper the Bosphore Egyptien (3) was also confiscated. Moreover, this is what one of ~~the~~ Lord Cromer's great supporters and friends (4) said about the position of the press in Egypt at that time: "The press did not enjoy the freedom it has now [1909]. The Press Act of 1881 and the Act of the Director General of Printed Matter made things very difficult for journalists and writers, and deprived Egypt of both the freedom of thought and political freedom. If a newspaper published a piece of news which was not in line with the government policy, it received

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(1) Broadley, op.cit., P.26.
(2) It published two articles on 9. and 11.8.1883, criticising the occupation and defending 'Urābism; cf. al-Ahrām, 18.8.1883; 'Abduh, Taṭawwur, P.138.
(3) Cf. Milner, op.cit. P.P.119-120.
(4) Waliyy al-Din Yakan (1873-1921)

an immediate warning from the Ministry of the Interior ... and if it received two warnings, it was confiscated at the third. It could be banned for a month or two or more or less, but the confiscation could also be suddenly imposed, according to the political offence."(1) Another comtemporary historian,Syrian by origin(2) thus states his opinion of the facts: "The nation as a whole was groaning under the yoke of the occupation ... and no voice could be raised to express her opinion. The press was fettered by the Press Act with the exception of those writing for foreign papers which were out of the reach of the Egyptian authority."(3) A third statement to a similar effect was made by a renowned European historian of the Arabic press: "The press, instead of being checked in its growth should be supported and encouraged ... Thus only can the press become of real help to the masses, by giving the adults in full liberty what they enjoyed - more often, alas, not enjoyed in this benighted land."(4)

These facts plainly contradicted the myth of the freedom of the Egyptian press which was among other "reforms" claimed by Lord Cromer who was anxious to make a good impression on British public opinion, especially its liberal part. What he had in mind was to display the "progress" which he had

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(1) Yakan, op.cit., P.13.
(2) Jurjī Zaydān, (1861-1914).
(3) Zaydān, Mashāhir, vol.i, P.314.
(4) Martin Hartmann, The Arabic Press of Egypt, (London 1899) P.51.

promoted in Egypt, in order to convince the British politicians to perpetuate the occupation of Egypt.(1) This task was entrusted to an able English journalist. "Baring /Lord Cromer/ had obtained the service in Egypt of Alfred Milner /later Lord Milner/, a journalist of distinction ... Baring gave him a place in Egypt of £1,000 a year at the Ministry of Finance, nominally for administrative work, but in reality with a mission of organising a press campaign in London in favour of a continuance of the Egyptian occupation... No man better than he knew the length of the English electoral foot."(2)

The press in Egypt, or rather its anti-British group, was heavily threatened by the press act in force at the time. It was no new law, but one which had been issued in 1881 under the Dual Control ... "The law", wrote at the time the Alexandria Correspondent of The Times,(3) "is so stringent that it has worked its own remedy; too ridiculous to enforce, it has been tacitly ignored by all alike." But what had been "too ridiculous" under the Dual Control, was not so for Lord Cromer. By it under pain of heavy penalties, and, in certain cases, confiscation, printers and publishers were required to obtain a licence from the Minister of the Interior in exchange for a heavy deposit, which licence could be refused or revoked

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(1) Cf. Blunt, My Diaries, vol.i, P.54.
(2) Ibid., for more details cf. also P.55.
(3) November 8.1881; the Law was declared in November 1881; for more details cf. al-Waqā'i', 29.11.1881; 'Abduh, Taṭawwur, P.P.118-119, 186-190, 260-267.

at discretion, and papers could be suppressed by a simple order of the Minister after two warnings, or by the Council of Ministers without any warning at all. Henceforth, the oppositional press was to exist on mere sufferance, without any legal guarantee or even pretext of guarantee.

Eventually, freedom of the Press, although rather unequally distributed, was forced upon Lord Cromer and, of course, the government in power. France protested strongly against the suppression of its organ in Egypt, the above-mentioned Bosphore Egyptien, in April 1885. "The act excited a perfect storm of fury among the French inhabitants in Egypt which found its echo in Paris. The French Foreign Minister demanded reparation,"(1) and the protest even developed into tension between England and France. As a result, Lord Cromer yielded and the suspension was lifted unconditionally.(2)

This was the turning point in the history of the Egyptian press. Henceforward, many publishers of Arabic newspapers began to seek French protection. This placed them almost out of reach of the authorities, British as well as Egyptian, and enabled them to embark on an opposition to the methods of the occupation and to British policy in Egypt.(3)

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(1) Milner, op.cit., P.P.120-121.
(2) Moreover, on May 3, 1885, the Egyptian Prime Minister Nubar went to see the French Consul General to make his apologies; cf. 'Abduh, Tatawwur, P.P.145,146; for more details cf. Milner, op.cit., P.P.119-122.
(3) 'Abduh, Tatawwur, P.P.146,147,

The rest of the Arabic papers which were in fact of no importance followed suit in opposing the occupation, and the authorities, both British and Egyptian authorities, found themselves in a peculiar quandary: if they continued suspending the Egyptian newspapers which were of little importance but let those enjoying French protection continue unpunished in the same vein, they would reveal their weakness and cause public resentment in Egypt as well as in England.(1) Thus their iron rule was partly modified.

Lord Cromer could not remain idle in face of this obvious threat to his policy. He planned a counter-attack on the oppositional press and looked round for a native newspaper to carry out his plan. His choice fell first on the Copts who, however, failed to respond. They "neglected the opportunity and sided with their oppressors with whom they were much more congenial in thought, disposition and mode of living ... Of course the active Syrian was there, ready for the emergency... He at once offered his service to the conquerer, and before long proved a very useful instrument, especially when there was dirty work to do."(2) The Syrians negotiated with were the owners of the monthly periodical al-Muqtaṭaf.(3) The plan was "to found a daily political

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(1) Cf. 'Abduh, Taṭawwur, P.P. 146-147.
(2) Hartmann, op.cit., P.P.30-31.
(3) They were Fāris Nimr, Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf and Shāhīn Makāryus.

newspaper to compete with the national press and to oppose it for the protection of British interests."(1) This led, in April, 1889, to the foundation of al-Muqaṭṭam. "Once upon a day their fortune was made. They had gained favour with Lord Cromer. Even as the 'Egyptian Gazette' is the official English organ, so al-Muqaṭṭam is the Arabic daily, through which the British in Egypt try to mould public opinion. Of course, the editors are sharp business people, and smart advocates of English interests."(2) Hartmann also states that "this paper is exclusively paid by the English."(3) The newspaper immediately proceeded to attack every oppositional newspaper with the utmost severity.(4) Lord Cromer was confident that the opposition press would be no match for al-Muqaṭṭam which he subsidised in every way imaginable, supplying it with news and making it financially prosperous as the exclusive recipient of official advertising matter.(5) His expectations were fulfilled, for in the ensuing open battle which was fought by every means fair or foul,(6) al-Muqaṭṭam easily prevailed over all its rivals. Its

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(1) 'Abduh, Taṭawwur, P.149; cf.also Ṭarrāzī, op.cit.,vol,iii, P.P. 34-36.
(2) Hartmann, op.cit.,P.11.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Turkey, on her part, by no means refrained from participating in this battle, and founded some newspapers to defend her interests;cf,'Abduh, Taṭawwur,p.p.144,145.
(5) Of. Ibid, P.149; Hartmann, op.cit., P.11.
(6) For details cf. Ṭarrāzī, op.cit., vol,iii, P.P.34-35.

circulation grew disproportionately, owing to the police methods which were employed to force it upon the readers. Officials in villages or provincial towns were compelled to subscribe to it, as were civil servants.(1) Its columns were filled to capacity with articles eulogising and hailing the occupation and its "reforms"(2) and deriding the Egyptians who were represented as ignorant and stupid in their persistent opposition to the occupation, and unable to govern themselves. It did not refrain from openly disparaging comments on the national character, and no Egyptian, not even the Khedive himself, escaped its brazen criticism; not even the Sultan was spared, if his interests conflicted with those of the occupation. What is more, Riyāḍ himself, became its occasional victim whenever he ventured to make a more or less independent move. But even Riyāḍ was unable to retaliate since the attacker was the organ of the British and therefore out of his reach. In short, the policy of al-Muqaṭṭam caused deep resentment all over the country.(3) Finally, a group of Egyptian notables(4) decided to found a newspaper powerful enough to fight al-Muqaṭṭam with its own weapons. Riyāḍ

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(1) 'Abduh, Taṭawwur, P.P. 149,151,152.
(2) Cf. Ṭarrāzī, op.cit., vol.iii, P.P.34-35.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Among them were Laṭīf Pasha Salīm, Ḥasan Pasha 'Āṣim and Ibrāhīm al-Hilbāwī, cf.'Abduh, Taṭawwur, P.152.

responded so readily by granting them, in December,1889, permission to found the famous daily al-Mu'ayyad, that it was obvious from the start that the new paper would support him and his policy.(1) Thus it came to pass that the Egyptian press was divided into two distinctly different groups: the first and most influential one, which owed its ascendancy to the support of the occupying power, had declared itself unhesitantly in support of the occupation, demanding - for the sake of the material profits it derived from it - its indefinite extension; al-Muqaṭṭam, took the lead in that. The second group made what can only be described as a more or less timid attempt at opposition, labouring under the constant threat of suspension and confiscation to which they had already been subjected before.(2) Its policy of opposition was conducted either in the interest of Egypt only - as represented by al-Waṭan(3) which was considered of little account at that time - or for the sake of French vested interests - as represented by al-Ahrām(4) and the French language newspapers - or in the name of Ottoman interests as well as those of the Khedive - as represented by al-Mu'ayyad.(5)

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(1) Cf. 'Abduh, Taṭawwur, P.152; Ṭarrāzī, op.cit., P.P.37-38; Shaykh 'Alī Yūsuf was appointed its chief editor.
(2) Cf. Abduh Taṭawwur, P.P. 137-138, 143-147; Rāfi'ī, Miṣr, P.P. 183-186.
(3) Yakan, op.cit., vol.i, P.P.11.13.
(4) Hartmann, op.cit., P.P.10-11; Yakan, op.cit.,vol.i,PP.11-12
(5) 'Abduh, Taṭawwur, P.152.

It is true that the freedom of the press was maintained in Egypt under the occupation, but what sort of press enjoyed it? Either those who supported the occupation and were beyond the reach of the Egyptian authorities, even the Khedive himself, or those who enjoyed the protection of the rival of Britain in Egypt, another European great power, France. Even the latter did not gain that freedom without a certain amount of struggle.

NADĪM'S RÔLE IN THE SECOND PHASE OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT.

From the very moment of his arrival in the country, Nadīm was positively wooed by Lord Cromer's confidential agents with the unmistakable intention of winning his services for the occupation, or at least securing his silence. He was tempted with offers of a high position with the Ministry of Education or the Ministry of Waqf which would have ensured him a steady and comfortable income for the rest of his days.(1) The temptation was strong, especially as his health had greatly deteriorated in consequence of the ten years' nervous strain and intermittent physical hardship he had endured. Moreover, there seemed little chance of any political activity along nationalist lines, since any overt

(1) Cf. Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.P.534,535.

opposition against the occupation was threatened with renewed exile from the country. In fact, many a man in his position would have yielded without much ado; as has been stated above, all the former leaders of the national movement who had remained in Egypt or returned to the country had already gone that way.(1) It does Nadīm credit that he remained inflexible in his refusal to collaborate with the occupation; in fact, it was his intransigeance that saved the national movement from total extinction.

History repeats itself, and Nadīm found himself, on his return to the country, in a similar position as Jamāl al-Dīn when he came to Egypt in 1871. The whole of Egypt was again in servitude; it had only changed its master. Despair had penetrated into every nook and corner of the country, and into every class of its society. Its population was again plunged in a lethargic sleep. But Nadīm was by no means willing to let the deplorable state of things deter him from the resumption of his pioneering activities, and firmly resolved to take up the fight again.

Although the prospect seemed uniformly black, it seemed unacceptable to Nadīm that the national movement which had behind it the traditions of a revolution and of a constitution, should be doomed to entire extinction in consequence of a defeat. With his astute political sense, he realised that the

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(1) Cf. Rāfi'ī, al-Thawrah, P.541.

same causes which had originated it in the past, namely the domination and exploitation by foreigners, were certian to revive it as soon as the effects of the catastrophe of 1882 were overcome.

However, the task awaiting him was more difficult than ever, the more so as he could not use his oratorical powers to rouse the country from its apathy; he could not roam the town and countryside, addressing the Egyptians from the pulpits of the mosques or at public meetings lamenting the deplorable plight of the home land as he had done before to inspire them with vigour and courage, for the ban on public meetings and public speeches was strictly enforced, and Nadīm, with his long record of nationalist activity, seemed to be forever barred from the oratorical platform.

The task confronting him was now twofold; he had not only to fight the invader and his destructive methods, but also to contend with the subservience to the occupier, and rouse the nation again. However, to cope with this immense and complicated task he had very limited means at his disposal. Since there was no scope at all for a deployment of his oratorical power, the main medium through which he formerly used to transmit his ideas to the public had ceased to be accessible to him. The second medium he could have resorted to, the press, was hardly more accessible under the occupation, for a man with a long history of national struggle

like Nadīm.

It is possible that he had finally despaired of the older generation who had lived through the breakdown of the national movement and shared its failure. Apparently the shock of the collapse of the movement, the disappointment in their leaders, the rough physical treatment they had suffered at the hands of their own rulers and the equally depressing moral treatment at the hands of the new British masters had completed the work of spiritual destruction, and annihilated their power of resistance. Thus Nadīm had no choice, but to conform to the pattern followed by his predecessor Jamāl al-Dīn; he focused his attention on the new generation. The youth of the country, on its part, felt naturally attracted to the only leader of the revolutionary movement who had returned to the country, and was anxious to obtain first-hand information of the revolution and its history.(1) The group which rallied around Nadīm recruited itself, for the most part, among the students of the higher schools. The most enthusiastic members of this circle were Muṣṭafā Kāmil,(2) later the head of the second national movement, and the leader of the second national party, and his fellow student Fu'ad Salīm.

The centre of this new activity was the mansion of the above mentioned Laṭīf Pasha Salīm.(3) Nadīm spared no effort

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(1) Cf. Rāfi'ī, Muṣṭafā, P.30; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, vol. i, P317.
(2) Ibid; Adams, op.cit., P.P.221-222.
(3) Zakī Rustum, my conversation with, op.cit.

to instil their young and susceptible souls with patriotism, love of freedom and hatred of colonialism. At these meetings and discussions, he proved incontestably to his disciples that the downfall of the revolution had been brought about by the intrigues of the foreign powers; he cleared the name of the national movement of the defamatory, slanderous accusations by which it had been discredited in the eyes of the nation. He explained the doctrine and the plans of the movement, but did not desist, by any means, from stressing the mistakes committed by its leaders.(1) The essence of his new theory, can be subsumed in four main points. First and foremost, he warned them against too much reliance on the army as the mainstay of the movement of liberation, but advised them to lean rather on the moral force of public opinion. Therefore he exhorted them to spare no effort to raise the moral standards of the people and kindle in their hearts that true patriotism which is the main pillar of strength of any national movement. Secondly, he advised them to refrain, at any cost, from provoking a conflict with the Khedive, since it had been a conflict of this kind that had proved the thin end of the wedge by which the British had succeeded in dividing the nation. Thirdly, he exhorted them never to surrender, regardless of the length of the struggle, since it is the surrender of the leaders which, more than anything else, kills the spirit of resistance in the nation.

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(1) Cf. Rāfi'ī, Muṣṭafā, P.30; Zaidān, Mashāhīr, vol. i, P.317.

Finally, he taught them the best method of influencing the public by perfecting the arts of writing and oratory, since this was the best way to find access to the hearts of the nation and to win their support in the struggle.(1) He went to great pains to teach his disciples as Jamāl al-Dīn had taught him and his contemporaries; he made them deliver speeches before him and write articles for the press. Nadīm and his disciples formed, as it were, the core of a new resistance movement which began secretly, and was directed against the British occupation. The above mentioned Muṣṭafa Kāmil, a youth of great promise, possessed the most gifted and fertile brain of all his disciples; he also had the most vivid imagination and the greatest patriotic ardour. Nadīm soon discovered the young man's astonishing ability in using his pen and tongue, and foresaw that he would play an outstanding part in the life of his country. He therefore devoted to him a great deal of attention. "Nadīm sought out the young nationalist and instructed him concerning the events through which he himself had passed and inspired him, no doubt, with his own incendiary ideas. As a result .../Muṣṭafa Kāmil/ ... acquired some of the characteristics of Nadim,"(2) He also trained him in the art of writing. In fact, Nadīm's influence on Muṣṭafā Kāmil is observable in the latter's later speeches.

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(1) Cf. Rāfi'ī, Muṣṭafā, P.30; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, vol.1, P.317.
(2) Adams, op.cit., P.222; cf. also J.Zaydān, Mashāhīr, vol.1, P.317.

He "quotes the words and phrases of Nadīm's style."[1] His speeches were speeches of a kind Egypt had not heard for a decade since Nadīm's mouth had been silenced. It is a fact of high literary and political significance that, in spite of the long interval, there is no visible or tangible break in the tradition, for the new voice seemed familiar to the nation, deep rooted as it was in the past, the echo of Nadīm's voice ten years before. Muṣṭafā became, in fact, the continuation of Nadīm, the mouth-piece of the silenced teacher, a vicarious new existence for the old "Orator of the East."

Meanwhile, the policy of the young, nineteen year old Khedive 'Abbās II, developed along lines which were totally different from the way his father Tawfīq had tried to rule the country. 'Abbās II had studied in Vienna where he had mixed with young princes from different countries who all had one thing in common: they were all proud of the liberty their countries enjoyed, and full of plans for the good of their respective peoples. When 'Abbās came to Cairo in 1892 to ascend the throne of his father "his heart was full of great hopes that he would be the one to win back the liberty of his country. He was appalled at the manner in which the British authorities governed the country, and which enabled them to interfere with every detail of the administration. He decided to put an end to that illegal interference and devised

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(1) Yakan, op.cit., vol.1, P.30.

- although his enthusiasm was only short lived[1] - a new policy to resist the British occupation.[2] He openly critised the extravagence and wasteful ways of his grandfather Ismā'īl which had been the immediate cause of Western intervention in Egypt; he even went to the length of bitterly accusing his father Tawfīq of subservience to the British and blaming his courtiers for being guilty of connivance by yielding to the whims of their sovereign.[3] As a result, he dismissed most of his entourage, filling the vacant positions with pro-nationalists.[4]

At the beginning of his reign, 'Abbās II used to mix with his subjects in order to wim their confidence. He did it in various ways: by travelling about in the provinces,[5] by inviting prominent people to his dinner-table, meeting the 'Ulamā' and listening to their teachings, visiting mosques, attending communal prayers, visiting colleges and schools, and discussing with every group its own particular problems.[6] He asked experts to write special reports on educational matters, on the army and the police force and all the other vital services of the country.[7]

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(1) It hardly lasted two years.
(2) Rāfi'ī, Mustafā, p.281.
(3) Shafīq, op.cit., vol.2, P.P.16,17,18.
(4) Yakan, op.cit., P.P.18-19; Shafīq, op.cit., vol.2, P.18-25.
(5) Shafīq, op.cit., vol.2, P.P.46-48.
(6) Ibid, P.P.26,28,30,33-49.
(7) Ibid, PP. 27,37,88-92.

This policy which greatly raised his popularity in the country, could not but affect his relations with Lord Cromer. It was even the subject of discussion in official British circles and 'Abbās was given to understand that he had better follow in the footsteps of his father, and come to terms with the British, if he wanted to retain his throne.(1) However, the Khedive remained firm at first, and continued to support every visible sign of resistance against the occupation.(2)

The new policy of the young Khedive which nearly succeeded in bridging over the rift between the nation and the sovereign , thus depriving the British occupation of the only pretext which hac some appearance of validity,(3) won Nadīm's wholehearted admiration. He immediately declared himself in support of 'Abbās's policy and made him even the symbol of resistance against the occupation. He directed his disciples to rally round the young Khedive and to propagate his policy in the colleges and circles, so that students received 'Abbās with enthusiasm and respect everywhere he went. When he visited the High School of Law, Nadīm's disciples - among them his most distinguished pupil Muṣṭafā Kāmil - delivered a number of speeches in his honour.(4)

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(1) Shafīq, op.cit., vol, ii, P.15; Amīn, Zū'amā', P.238.
(2) Rāfi'ī, Muṣṭafā, P.281.
(3) It used to be stated that it was the only aim of the "provisional" occupation to protect the Khedive's rights.
(4) Cf. Rafi'i, Mustafa, P.28.

As was to be expected in view of his policy, the young Khedive communicated with Nadīm and his followers, lending them his active support, so that relations between t them became cordial.(1) The Khedive's friendship did much to encourage Nadīm to resume his social activities and to take, once more, part in public life. The Khedive, on the other hand, must have felt that he needed journalistic support in the stand he had taken up against the British occupation which was strongly criticised by the British sponsored press. It goes without saying that it was Nadīm who was entrusted with this task, for "the Khedive firmly believed that there was nothing Nadīm could not do."(2)

Nadīm's chances of obtaining a licence for the publication of a new paper were very slender indeed, for the then Prime Minister, Muṣṭafā Fahmī, was a staunch supporter of the British occupation. "Muṣṭafa Pasha is the first Egyptian Premier who has been unreservedly in sympathy with the English ... Never has the co-operation of Englishmen and Egyptians been so cordial as since Muṣṭafa Pasha's succession to the office ..."(3) In short, he was, from the British point of view, an "ideal Prime Minister."(4) It is

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(1) Yakan, op.cit., Vol, 1, P.P.28-30.
(2) Ibid, vol, i, P.30.
(3) Milner, op.cit., P.163.
(4) Ibid.

obvious that it was by no means an easy matter for a man with a long record of political struggle who would not be persuaded or won over by Lord Cromer as other nationalists had done, and who had been repatriated under the condition that he would refrain from political activity, to obtain permission to found a newspaper of his own. Therefore it was his brother 'Abd al-Fattāḥ who applied for the licence and, probably with some support on the part of pro-Khedive nationalist circles, was granted permission to found the weekly Al-Ustādh (The Master), on the explicit condition "not to interfere with political matters of the moment ... internal or external."(1) It was officially described as a "Journal of Science, Instruction and Entertainment."(2) It was a weekly, and appeared every Tuesday. As soon as 'Abd al-Fattāḥ obtained the licence, he appointed his brother Nadīm editor of the paper.(3) In the first issue which saw the light of day on August 23rd, 1893,(4) 'Abd al-Fattāḥ announced that the new periodical was intended as "a store of exquisite sciences, the pick of the knowledge /lit.history/ of the Golden Age, not limited to one art only, nor confined to one subject. It will publish what is suitable for

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(1) Al-Ustādh, P.2.
(2) Hartmann, op.cit., P.63.
(3) Cf. Al-Ustādh, P.3.
(4) Not as Hartmann states (cf.P.63) on the 25th. August.

publication and delightful to read from al-Ma'qūl wa al-Manqul (The Rational and Transmitted Sciences), which will not affect any religion, nor detract from any person's honour. It will neither deride anyone nor interfere with present political matters, that is to say it will not discuss departments and employees and their ways in matters external or internal, but the art of politics as such will be one of its scientific problems ... I am leaving the arrangement of its features to the pen of my brother, the worthy al-Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Effendi Nadīm."(1)

Although officially described on the title page as "the director" of the paper, 'Abd al-Fattah was clearly, from the very start, a man of straw entrusted only with the administrative side of the new periodical. The public was fully aware that Nadīm, though nominally merely the editor, was in fact its real owner and set the trend of its policy. Al-Ustadh was generally identified with Nadīm in the eyes of the public, as it is now identified with him in the eyes of history.

In its form, Al-Ustadh is unique in the history of

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(1) Al-Ustādh, P.3. Contrary to Hartmann's statement (cf.P. 63) 'Abd al-Fattāh was not the editor of the paper, but merely its director.

Arabic journalism. It was edited on three levels whose first, consisting of surveys on scientific, social, literary and later political matters in refined classical Arabic, was destined for intellectual readers. In this section Al-Ustādh can be considered as a continuation of Jamāl al-Dīn's al-'Urwah al-Wuthqa.(1) The second section contained popular articles, for the most part in the form of a dialogue between Nadīm and simple folk, men and women alike, and between the fictional characters themselves. In these dialogues, they discuss social, political and even educational matters, pointing to the defects of the system and suggesting the most effective remedy for each of the defects criticised. The chief aim of this section, written in pure colloquial Egyptian, was the propagation of social reform and the education of the illiterate - to whom it was meant to be read out - by raising their standard of thought. The third section was written in a simplified, almost colloquial Arabic. This was intended for people whose education was

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(1) Cf. Adams, op. cit., p. 222; al-Manār, vol. ii, p. 339-340.

incomplete, such as students or adults who knew how to read and to write but had had little other instruction. The articles were in form of a discussion between Nadīm and a student, or two fictitious students. Al-Ustādh contained some humorous matter, but all of it was didactic. In sum, it was conceived as a school for the public in a manner to appeal to every class of society, the intellectuals as well as the illiterate, the ones who saw life with serious eyes and those who saw it in a humorous vein. Whatever the mood, the author's ideas and principles could be read between the lines. "We adhere to this method" wrote Nadīm "because it suits the taste of the people, caters for every group, the 'Ulamā' and men of letters, the notables and simple folk, and finds what satisfies [the needs] of each of them. Its only objective is, in fact, to serve the nation and to benefit both the upper and the lower class. If one considers this method carefully, one will find it accurate and useful."(1)

Evidently, the reading public received Al-Ustādh with great acclaim, for in the first issue one thousand and five

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(1) Al-Ustādh, p. 50.

hundred copies were printed, a considerable amount according to the standards of that time, and they were all sold except for eleven copies, which were returned.(1) The friendly attitude of the public found its expression in a great number of letters "from worthy 'Ulamā' and notables and intellectuals and literary circles"(2) which were all full of praise and encouragement.

When Nadīm notified his readers that the publication of the second number might have to be postponed until the management had sorted out the names and addresses of the subscribers, "many worthy notables among the public and large numbers of letters insist on the issue being published without delay, and therefore we respond to their demand."(3)

In the first issues of Al-Ustādh Nadīm kept, on the face of it, his promise not to interfere with politics. He refrained from referring to the occupation and from an open indictment of the British. Instead, he concentrated at first on educational and social reform, launching out on a general attack on the social and educational methods prevailing in Egypt at that time. He did not point an accusing finger at the British as their real originators, but it was obvious to everybody that he was referring to the policies the occupation had resorted to in the attempt to anglicise Egypt.

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(1) Al-Ustadh, P.44.
(2) Ibid, P.43.
(3) Ibid, P.44.

Though timid at first in his political criticism in Al-Ustādh, he is frank, unrelenting and sharp of tongue on the subject of educational and social reform. He realised that, from Eastern and Islamic viewpoint, moral standards had deteriorated under the occupation to the point of decadence. Drunkenness was spreading with alarming rapidity, causing many broken homes.(1) Greek and foreign usurers were increasing their hold on the property of fellahin as well as citizens by lending them money for drink and dissipation. Egyptian women imitated Western women, consorting with strangers and drinking wine. Prostitution had developed at a rate unknown before and was, for the first time in the history of Egypt, officially recognised as a profession. Addiction to narcotics was common among rich and poor alike. The general misinterpretation of the idea of liberty often degenerated into over-indulgence and misuse of leisure. Blind imitation of the European way of life and European clothes led to the neglect of the Oriental customs and the Arabic language and to a preference for foreign industrial products. What made matters worse was that it led to a loss of regard for the Islamic religion and even to open contempt for the Egyptian nationality. All that called for urgent reform, and Nadīm was incapable of

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(1) For details about the increase of the drink-shops cf. Blunt, My Diaries, vol. i, pp. 41-44.

resisting to this call.

In the very first issue of Al-Ustadh he published a survey on scientific lines though in a literary form, to which he gave the title Al-Akhlaq wa al-'Adat (1) (Character and Customs). The articles dealt with the difference between the customs of different countries which depended on various circumstances characteristic of a given country like race, nature, religion, even climate. He warned that the national character was in danger of being completely obliterated, and that this might lead to a weakening of the feelings of loyalty to the country, and to a disappearance of patriotism. He explained how untold harm can be done to people and country by foolish imitation of the strong by the weak, of the educated by the ignorant, of the governing by the governed, of the occupying power by the occupied nation. Though he never explicitly stated that it was a question of the strong wave of imitation of the British which had swept the country, it was perfectly obvious to what he referred. He said that "everybody who wants to change his customs and character for another should study, with care both the benefits and the disadvantages of the old ones as well as the new ones, and if the old ones prove necessary for the preservation of the good fortune of the nation, of the love of the country, of race and language and religion, he ought to adhere to them even if they fail to appeal to others. But if

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(1) Al-Ustadh, P.P.11-15, 50-56 and 81-86.

he finds that they are harmful to one of these, he ought to change them for more suitable ones. But to change one's national customs and character without considering the consequences means to surrender, without a fight, to the nation one imitates."(1)

In dealing with educational and social reform which forms the main objective of the movement, Nadīm used the wealth of information derived from the extensive studies which had taken up most of his time during his forcible retreat. Experience gained in the first revolution had led him to believe that the country would never be able to gain freedom whilst it remained ignorant and unable to cope with the events. At this first stage, most of the space in Al-Ustādh is devoted to those two pillars of national strength: education and industrialisation. "National life depends on the spread of knowledge and education and on the industrialisation of the country," wrote Nadīm, "but a headlong rush without adequate preparation yields no result but failure."(2) Here he produces, time and time again, substantial evidence from the history of colonialism since Roman times, and from the history of revolutions, to prove that the only peoples to offer successful resistance were those who had prepared themselves by education

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(1) Al-Ustādh, P.12.
(2) Ibid, P.32.

and industrialisation. "When they /the occupied countries/ had educated themselves, and developed their industry ... nationalism was born in their hearts and roused their pride and made them throw off the yoke of colonialism and demand national freedom ... but I must tell you /the Egyptians/ that no revolution succeeds where the people renounce the pursuit of education and civilisation."(1) He resorts to comparisons between East and West at both the ancient and the contemporary stage of history to explain to his readers the causes of the progress of the West and the decline of the East, which had, for centuries, played a leading part in civilisation. He also refers to the desire of the West to dominate the East not only by superior political power, but by moral ascendancy which it gained by undermining the spiritual strength of the East, and by influencing the Eastern way of life.

It was the usual contention of al-Muqaṭṭam, the Arabic organ of the British occupation, at that time, that Egyptians were not capable of governing themselves and that they were always reluctant to acquire knowledge. Nadīm, who was clearly on his guard, refrained from referring to this openly, but disproved it indirectly, ~~and~~ by implication, and by quoting

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(1) Al-Ustādh, P.28.

certain statements of Lord Cromer himself, like: "I never pass any Egyptian village without being faced by the demand of its people for schools and education."(1) He further referred to the considerable degree of development Egypt had attained in the field of education, industry and science in Muḥammad 'Alī's time. "Though the Renaissance came from outside, the country absorbed it eagerly and with profit; many Egyptians became well versed in art, industry and science, and led the nation skilfully, reaching the standard of any of the great countries."(2) It is worth mentioning that, despite his deep resentment of western interference, he acknowledged with gratitude that much of the progress made in Muḥammad 'Alī's time had been derived from Western sources; he also exhorted the nation to seek knowledge everywhere, and to learn from foreign countries, even from the occupying power. "For Egyptians will learn from this occupation how to foster patriotic zeal and to revive their national pride."(3)

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(1) As quoted by Al-Ustādh, P.41; the statement of Lord Cromer is "In 1889, I visited many remote villages of Upper Egypt in which the face of a European is rarely seen. No request was more frequently made to me than that I should urge the Government to establish a school in the village." Cromer, op.cit.,vol,ii, P.532.
(2) Al-Ustādh, P.34.
(3) Ibid, P.40.

Nadīm also opposed, in the same section, the use of English and French as the language of tuition in Egyptian schools in preference to Arabic. He was convinced that the preservation of the Arabic language was equivalent to the preservation of the religion, race and national character of the Arabs.(1) The opinion prevalent at that time in Lord Cromer's entourage, and echoed in politically interested circles abroad, was that Arabic was unsuitable for scientific purposes; this was the very reason by which Lord Cromer sought to justify the substitution of Western languages for Arabic in Egyptian schools. "Science" states Lord Cromer "cannot be learned save in those languages which possess a scientific literature and vocabulary."(2) Nadīm justly stressed that in the course of its history, Arabic had been the medium through which scientific knowledge of past centuries had been transmitted to the world.(3) He was, of course, fully aware of the fact that Arabic needed new terms to express new conceptions, just as English and French could not do without loan words from Latin and Greek, although no one maintained that they were not "scientific languages." Consequently, Nadīm called on the Arab intellectuals

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(1) Cf. Al-Ustādh, P.14,40.
(2) Cromer, op.cit., vol.ii, P.592. Under the existing conditions, history, geography, arithmetic, algebra, and science were taught in the secondary schools in English or French only, and all instruction in technical schools and professional colleges in English only; cf.Rothstein, op.cit., P.320.
(3) Cf. Al-Ustādh, P.19.

to found an academy for the adaptation of foreign technical terms to Arabic grammar and etymology. He was the first to suggest the establishment of such an institution.(1) Some 'Ulamā' and intellectuals headed by al-Sayyid Tawfīq al-Bakrī responded to this call and formed al-Mujtama' al-Lughawī (The Linguistic Academy). However, the attempt proved abortive, and Nadīm's dream did not materialise officially until 1932.(2) In his defence of Arabic, Nadīm also criticised the leisured classes of society, who had contracted the habit of interspersing their conversation with French and English, a fashion which he regarded as a disease, tending to destroy the character and honour of the nation.

Nadīm mustered all his force of persuasion to halt the wave of Westernisation which had swept over the country. He pointed out that Egyptians went to extremes in their adaptation to foreign ways which led to extravagance on the one hand, and to a complete change of the way of life on the other; both were a danger to the national economy and national industry. Buying too much abroad caused widespread unemployment and ruined national industries. "The Egyptian has changed his way of life after it had been derided by Europeans as primitive and backward ... They persuaded him to change his ways, to be

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(1) Cf. Al-Ustādh, P.P. 169-184.
(2) Cf. Aḥmad al-Iskandarī and others, al-Mufaṣṣal (Cairo 1934), vol. ii, P.332; Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Zayyāt, Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī (Cairo 1942), P.418.

civilised and modern ... but in fact the hidden aim was to t transfer the wealth of the nation to Europe ... Every class, poor, prince and rich, is hunting for these foreign luxuries, and paying for them with the wealth of the nation. With this extravagance they kill the national economy and the industry of the nation ... and promote the industry of Europe."(1)

In a detailed comparison between the way of life in Egypt in 1892 and the one twenty years before,(2) he stressed that a great many home industries had been the victims of the mania on imitation which had overcome the Egyptians under the British occupation, and voiced the belief that "in moderation, the modernisation of the way of life has its advantages, but excessive and extravagent modernisation destroys home industries and raises the cost of living, so that the wealth of the nation will pass into foreign hands, and unemployment increase."(3)

In the literary section, Nadīm published a number of odes and epistles and a considerable quantity of Zajal of his own as well as of his friends and followers. It was a kind of revival of the literary life of Egypt, for many poets and zajjālīn imitated Nadīm who encouraged them by printing their work in his periodical.

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(1) Al-Ustādh, P.P.53-55.
(2) For details cf.ibid, P.P.50-56, 81-86.
(3) Al-Ustādh, P.55.

Nadīm introduced a novelty hitherto unknown to Egyptian journalism, namely diverse serialised features, which as has been said above, were each destined for a different class of readers. Boys, girls, men of the folk, women of the folk had each their separate column, and there were several series for intellectuals including a separate literary section. Each of them dealt with a different aspect of life.

In Al-Ḥurāfa'ah al-Waṭaniyyah (The National Court of Justice)[1] he represents, in an imaginary trial before the Court of Right and Justice, the Country as the victim, and its Pupulation as the accused. The judges are Civilisation, Construction and their leader Order; the charge is "Excessive Europeanisation of Egypt at the cost of national wealth and national industry." Modernisation is the counsel for the defence. In the prosecuting speech as well as in the judge's summing up, Nadīm unrolls the entire picture of Egypt's situation in all its aspects: moral, social, educational and political. The judges find the rich guilty of neglecting duties like the foundation of benevolent societies and schools, and of sending their own children to foreign missionary schools, thereby exposing their own religion, language and nationality to grave jeopardy. Having been found guilty, the rich are

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(1) Cf. Al-Ustādh, P.P. 97-107, 184-190, 193-202.

punished by the imposition of a significant fine: they are directed to found co-operative industrial plants, agriculture and trade banks for the promotion of national trade and agriculture. The nation is also found guilty of drunkenness, usury and gambling; the government is ordered by the judges to introduce an import duty on foreign goods to protect Egyptian industry.

The second series, in colloquial Arabic, is intended for men of the uneducated working classes like labourers, fellahin and small tradesmen.(1) Here he deals with the numerous difficulties besetting the national industries of Egypt for which he again blames the mania of Europeanisation and the excessive demand for foreign goods. He also speaks of the resulting unemployment. He criticises the cautious approach of the Egyptian capitalists who are inclined to hoard their money or invest in landed property rather than launch out on industrial adventures - a failing characteristic of the rich Egyptian of that time. He calls repeatedly on the rich to found trade banks and co-operative societies to finance national industry, agriculture and trade, and make them capable to face up to foreign competition. He also finds fault with the traders themselves for their voluntary isolation from international markets, and advises them to keep in touch with foreign

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(1) For details cf. Al-Ustādh, P.P. 16-21,46-48, 65-70, 90-93, 107-114, 147-149, 225-231, 282-285,328-332,444-449,662-665.

commercial and industrial circles and to learn from their methods. In the fellah's section of the same series he draws a depressing picture of the peasant's life which, exceedingly hard in itself, is rendered harder still by the exploitation on the part of the wealthy landowner, and also by some detrimental customs like family feuds and vendetta; he encourages them to have recourse to the courts of justice when in trouble, and to demand their rights from those in power. He warns them to beware of social diseases like drunkenness, gambling and addiction to hashish and drugs which had spread from the towns to the villages. In this series he also discusses the special plight of the newly freed slaves, mainly unemployment and destitution, by which they are threatened when they lose the protection of their former masters. He calls on the freed slaves to form unions to speak for them, and on the government to provide for them by supplying them with waste land for cultivation and with the necessary agricultural implements. Since the section for working class people is predominantly didactic, he gives advice on what newspapers to read, explaining to them what groups of newspapers there are, what interests they serve, English, French, Ottoman or Egyptian, and which are sound and honest and which harmful in their outlook.

The third series, written in the simplest classical Arabic, so simple that it verges on the colloquial, is entitled Madrasat al-Banīn (School for Boys). It consists of conversation

between Nadīm and a student, or between two students. Here, Nadīm discusses educational methods in the country and suggests a plan of reform, devised according to what he describes as "the right tendencies." Here,again, special stress is put on the love of knowledge and love of the country, the love of one's own religion whichever it is, religious tolerance and harmonious co-existence with fellow-countrymen of other religious denominations, on integrity and love of freedom. He is very consistent in his criticism of the fathers of families for sending their children to foreign missionary schools where the pupils are diverted from their own religion, and the history of the nation is misrepresented. He also exhorts boys to study diligently for the sake of their country.(1)

In another series of the colloquial section, entitled Madrasat al-Banāt (School for Girls), Nadīm develops his ideas on the education of women and their part in the life of the nation in the form of conversations between mother and daughter, girls among themselves or between Nadīm and a girl. He considers respect for religion, their own as well as that of others, avoidance of religious heresies and fanaticism as the most important requisites of the future mothers of the nation; he also dwells on the difference between rural and urban life and points out the right way for girls to behave.(2)

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(1) For details cf.Al-Ustādh, P.P.202-208,295-298,353-356,364-369, 491-495.

(2) For details cf.Al-Ustādh, P.P.246-251,298-302,356-360,395-399.

The fourth series, written in colloquial Arabic, is destined for women in general. In this series he deals with the habits of drunkenness, adultery, riotous living and gambling, contracted by many Egyptian husbands which undermined the moral foundations of family life and threatened the families themselves with material ruin. In imaginary conversations he represents women as sounder in their morals, more capable of friendship, more tolerant of other religions and political opinions and altogether wiser than men. Their conversations revolve primarily around their husbands, criticising their newfangled ways, warning them of the inevitable disastrous consequences of a dissolute life; but they also talk of things of more general interest like society with its defects, differences in the Syrian and Egyptian outlook on life brought about by the conditions under the occupation, for the Egyptians fought the occupation, while the Syrians supported it. Nadīm forms imaginary committees among these fictitious wives in order to discuss ways and meand of reforming their husbands. Various methods are suggested, and finally the decision is reached to write a petition to their husbands, entreating them to mend their ways, and to send it to Nadīm to be published in Al-Ustādh. Finally, he condemns the emergence of drinking among women, resulting from the pursuit of the wrong kind of modernisation.(1)

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(1) For details cf, Al-Ustādh, P.P.132-140; 149-158; 225-231; 268-272; and 648-650.

These serialised features were very original, a novel phenomenon in Egyptian journalism. They proved extremely attractive to the readers whom they greatly influenced. Their greatest charm lay in the fact that they addressed every group of society in its own peculiar idiom, using its own peculiar sayings and proverbs. The popularity of Nadīm's colloquial series even gave rise to some opposition in conservative circles. They gave expression to fears that the use of dialect in journalism might prove detrimental to the purity of written Arabic. They must have accused Nadīm of inconsistency in his actions, pointing to the fact that he, who had assumed the rôle of a defender of Arabic against foreign languages, did not hesitate to corrupt it himself by writing in colloquial, an example which was bound to be followed by the rank and file among writers.(1) Conscious of his responsibility, Nadīm formed a fictitious committee, composed of all the imaginary characters of this series and notified them of his decision to renounce the colloquial medium in favour of the simplest correct Arabic. "Fear seized me that the colloquial language might prevail and that our Arabic tongue would thus be attacked by two armies: foreign languages and the colloquial idiom. I have therefore assembled you to inform you that I am prepared to talk to you in simple talk on the level of your own speech as to simplicity,

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(1) Cf. Al-Ustādh, p.p. 225-226; 233-237; 241-245.

but in correct Arabic."[1] As soon as Nadīm announced his decision, a storm of protest broke out among the readers. They pointed out to him that, by forsaking the colloquial idiom, he would deprive the majority of his uneducated, working-class readers of the benefit of his ideas, thoughts and advice. They argued that in its present form, the periodical was generally readable and attracted women in their houses, labourers in the field, workmen in their factories and salesmen in their shops who gathered in groups around the one who could read - including readers hired for that purpose - so that the illiterate could listen to and understand articles written in the familiar idiom. If the threatened change were made, the future Al-Ustādh would cease to be accessible to the majority of the public, and be limited to the intellectuals. They insisted that there was little danger of the classical language being corrupted, since the series merely mirrored conversations as they were actually conducted in real life in these circles, especially as the paper distinguished, in its sections, between the different classes of society.[2] These arguments carried so much conviction that Nadīm yielded to the general demand, and the popular section continued as before.

The attitude taken up by Al-Ustādh towards the general situation of the country was by no means uniform throughout its whole existence, but changed parallel with the development of

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(1) Al-Ustādh, p.p. 225-226.
(2) Cf. Ibid, pp241-245.

the internal conditions, and went through several phases of evolution. Whenever he refers to politics in the early days of Al-Ustādh, he does it by implication, by skilful play with words, more often in jesting than in serious mood, sometimes in humorous anecdotes, frequently equivocating, but never committing himself. However, he does not refrain from pointing out to his readers that "the one that relies on the apparent sense of the word, without dwelling on what we intend to say, will raise many objections, and will rarely be satisfied."(1)

The circle of the readers of Al-Ustādh rapidly increased in Egypt as well as abroad; with the seventh issue, dated 4th October, 1892, reaching two thousand copies,(2) and thus surpassing that of almost any other Egyptian daily or periodical at that time.(3)

Many readers who had missed the first issues asked for a reprint.(4) This extraordinary popularity made Al-Ustādh a dangerous rival for al-Muqaṭṭam, in spite of the official support of the British authorities by which it was provided with exclusive information and financially subsidised. The danger threatening al-Muqaṭṭam was twofold: first, the readers, who resented its policy of supporting the occupation against the Khedive and the Sultan and its anti-Egyptian bias, deserted it in great numbers in favour of Al-Ustādh whose appeal was

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(1) Al-Ustādh, P.50.
(2) Cf. Al-Ustādh, a.P.163,451.
(3) Except the daily al-Ahrām.
(4) Cf. Al-Ustādh, P.451.

still enhanced by a policy supporting the Khedive and the Sultan, and by its national tendencies; some even went to the length of sending back copies subscribed to and already paid for without even unfolding them.

Secondly, the owners of al-Muqaṭṭam, who had made Lord Cromer believe that their propaganda would reconcile the nation to the occupation, rightly feared that Al-Ustādh which had begun, cautiously and surreptitiously at first, to enlighten public opinion on the harm done by the occupation, would influence the nation in the opposite direction. Therefore al-Muqaṭṭam embarked on an attack on Al-Ustādh, with a view to provoking the British into suspending the dangerous rival, and accused Nadīm of engaging in political activities, prohibited to him from the start under the terms of the licence. Realising the danger, Nadīm openly threw in his lot with the Khedive, announcing that Al-Ustādh was the organ of the sovereign,"... and that it is the patriotic one /paper/ which was not founded to be the tongue of foreigners or to mislead the orientals ... its owners owe their allegiance to no other sponsors but their Lord the Khedive ... and have dedicated their lives to his service. But as they cannot serve him personally they serve the country under his leadership ... for they know that to serve the nation is to serve his Majesty."(1) Nadīm announced

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(1) Al-Ustādh, p.p. 162-163.

that "this calumny will not divert us from the purpose which we have set ourselves, that is to say to reform what is decayed in our character, and to revive what has declined in our industry."(1)

This episode marks a step towards free utterance of opinion on political matters. From this moment onward he describes his paper as the organ of the Khedive, and openly professes his support of the latter's policy opposed to the occupation. It can be inferred from the tone of his writing that this move increased his courage in the stand taken up against al-Muqaṭṭam, the all powerful organ of the British occupation, for he takes little heed of the threat of banishment or suspension of Al-Ustādh which is constantly held over him,(2) and an open battle developed between the two papers. The tone of the controversy became still more strident, when other newspapers from both camps joined in, especially when the partisans of the occupation attacked the recent policy of the young Khedive, calling him a rash and mischievous child.(3) Nadīm retaliated in an article entitled Innamā Yaqbal al-Naṣīhat Man Wuffiq(4) (Only He Who Is Led by God Accepts Good Advice). in which he warned the nation not to trust newspapers which stirred up discord between Eastern brothers and despised them,

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(1) Al-Ustādh, P.166.
(2) Ibid, P.214.
(3) Cf. Shafīq, op.cit., vol.2, P.P.55-56.
(4) Cf. Al-Ustādh, P.P.361-364.

worshipping and adoring the Western nations. "If you are in Egypt, and see the one who is inclined to infringe the rights of the Khedive and deceive you that your advantage depends on that, refuse to lend him your ear, and warn your nation as well, for these crooks are deceitful and the real enemies of the country ... those who have trodden the East in the mud and caused its fall, deceived the nation and split her mind, were criminals like these. Thus you had better befriend a snake than these men; they are traders, but what they sell is the nation, for a price that is no more than a piece of bread or a rag to cover their back or a handful of coins."(1)

It can be deduced from both tone and contents of Nadīm's article on December, 13, 1892, entitled Lima Ikhtalafat Kalimatunā Idhā Itthadat Wijhatunā?(2) (Why Do Our Words Differ If our Aim Is One?) that the war between the two press camps, which, in the course of its development, had already gone through several degrees of intensity, had now come out into the open. In this article, he deals with mercenary newspapers which profess to be patriotic, but in fact serve foreign interests. "If the readers examine their sermons and exhortations, they will find that the smoke rising from the top layer of earth is a warning of the fire underneath ... They will find that the smiling mouth of the writer contains the venomous tooth of the serpent who waits for the opportunity of assailing his victim;

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(1) Al-Ustādh, P.P.362-363.
(2) Ibid, P.385-391.

soon its poison will circulate in their veins ... This applies to this group of Eastern newspapers, native and foreign. Each of them professes to exist only for the service of the East and its people ... but soon its columns will reveal that it merely deceives the people of the East /Egypt/ and delivers them up to the others."(1) In this article, Nadīm draws a sharp dividing line between foreign sponsored newspapers and those which sincerely represent the interests of the nation. It can also be inferred, from this article, that the split between Egyptian and certain Syrian journalists had become wider and deeper, owing to the latters' unquestioning support of the occupation. The attack on the Syrians increases in severity in another article in which it is not restricted to Syrian journalists only, but extends to all their compatriots with a domicile in Egypt whom he describes as "mercenary expatriates."(2) If they set up as merchants, he contends, they adulterate the products they sell, lie and cheat for the sake of financial profit; if they are usurers, they suck the fellah's blood and rob him of his property; if they are employees of the state, they are so strongly prejudiced in favour of their own compatriots that they have virtually joined forces to eliminate the Egyptian from the administration of his own country. Besides, they are also the mouth-piece of foreign interests, proclaiming that it is the foreign, not the Egyptian hand that points the

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(1) Al-Ustādh, P.P. 385-387.
(2) Ibid, P.410.

way to a better life.[1]

Since Al-Ustādh had become the organ of the Khedive, Nadīm was prompted by his own inclinations as well as by reasons of expediency to seize every opportunity of extolling the sovereign and his policy. He described 'Abbās's visits to schools and mosques, the enthusiastic welcome with which the public greeted him wherever he went, the way he mixed with the common people and took interest in their lives, and published poems eulogising the Khedive.[2]

Nadīm also put forward the suggestion that his students should celebrate the anniversary of 'Abbās's accession to the throne by giving a party at which his favourite disciple, Muṣṭafā Kāmil, delivered a momentous speech[3] which requested the British, in no uncertain terms, to fulfil their promise and evacuate the country in recognition of the autonomy of Egypt; the speech was reminiscent of Nadīm's rôle in the first stage of the revolution. The meeting itself was also remarkable in that it was the first political assembly held under the open sky after the breakdown of the revolution.

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(1) Cf. Al-Ustādh, P.P. 409-422.

(2) Cf. Ibid, P.213; 291; 314-315; 433-434; 483-487. Nadīm even announced the intention of collecting the poems eulogising the Khedive which had been published or recited on various occasions, and publishing them in a separate volume; cf. P.P.335-336. The volume in question never materialized.

(3) On January 7th, 1893.

The first article in which Nadim ventured to speak on political matters more freely than at any time since his return, was published on November, 15, 1882. The article, in which he is noticeably bolder though not quite open yet in voicing his political views, bears the title Ṭarīqat al-Wuṣūl Ilā al-Ra'y al-'Ām[1] (How to achieve a Public Opinion). Nadīm obviously realised that the destructive influence of the post-war years had resulted in the almost total disappearance of patriotic public opinion in the country. Since it is his firm conviction that the support of public opinion is the indispensable pre-requisite of any freedom movement,[2] he criticises the notables (Ulamā) and intellectuals for two defects: timidity on the one hand, and excess of individualism on the other. Both these defects isolate the intellectuals from the rest of the community, leaving the field to opportunists who lead the people astray. He therefore calls on the educated classes to renounce their isolation, to mix with the common people in public gatherings and to found committees where political, social and educational matters are discussed.

This article marks a turning point in the evolution of Al-Ustādh. Abandoning the hitherto gently evasive tone, it develops, in its character, tendencies and policy, into a

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(1) Al-Ustādh, P.P.289-295.
(2) See above, P. 403.

continuation of the famous al-'Urwah al-Wuthqā of Nadīm's predecessor Jamāl al-Dīn.[1] Henceforth Nadīm becomes less and less cautious, more and more explicit in the propagation of his political ideas. In an article entitled Bima Taqaddamū wa Ta'akhkhamā wa al-Khalqu wa-hidū[2] (How They Progress and How We Regress, Although We Are All Human Beings) he compares East and West and contradicts the critics who attribute the deplorable backwardness of the East to deficiencies of race and character, and even to religion and climate. He ascribes the progress of the West to the fact that each European country is proud of its religion and language, and is governed and administered only by members of its own nationality; that it enjoys freedom of thought, speech and press, compulsory education and democratic life, and that more propitious ecomomic conditions and the existence of agricultural and trade banks, promote the development of national industry. He also mentions educational clubs, defensive alliances and the solidarity of European countries in matters of defence. On each of these counts he demonstrates, in a parallel between East and West, how the East neglects every opportunity of promoting its own interests. "These are the reasons", concludes Nadīm, "which promote Europe, and unfold the banner of progress over its countries; as we comprehend them, we come to realise the defects which render Eastern countries backward, and such

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(1) Al-Manār, II, P.P.339-340; Adams, op.cit., P.222.
(2) Al-Ustādh, P.P.337-352.

easy victims to the traps of Europe. We also attain the certainty that Islam and other Eastern religions are by no means the reason of this backwardness ... for it was Islam that gave the impulse to civilisation in the Middle Ages ... nor the climate, for this very climate gave rise to the civilisation of ancient Egypt, of the ancient Phoenicians and Persians, India and Arabia."(1)

Another move forward towards explicitness in political controversy, and another step forward in the second phase of the national movement in its struggle for freedom, is the article Ashtāt al-Sharq wa 'Aṣabiyyāt Awrubbā(2) (The Discord of the East and the Solidarity of Europe), voicing the demand for democratic life in a very modern sense: the formation of parties on the pattern of English democracy, to save the East from its two scourges, despotism and favouritism. At this stage he never confines himself to Egypt only, but speaks - as he increasingly does in this period - of the East in general. In his opinion, "contemporary Egypt and Turkey are not ripe for free elections."(3) The kind of democracy he considers as desirable and suitable under the existing conditions is the formation of "two big parties on the model of the Conservative and Liberal Party system in England," one to support ...

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(1) Al-Ustādh, P.352.
(2) On 3.1.1893, cf.Al-Ustādh, P.P.457-467.
(3) Al-Ustādh, P.462.

the government and one to act as the opposition, each with its own principles, its own programme and its own plan of government. Should the party in power deviate from the lines previously evolved and agreed upon as the basis of governmental policy, the oppositional block would be entitled to appeal to the Khedive who, in turn, would have the right to dismiss the cabinet in favour of the rival bloc.

Nadīm fully realised that democratic life in the exact sense of the word was no more than a distant hope; "We are aware," he said, "that we cannot have it all in our time, but if we begin by laying the foundations, and toil to achieve the ultimate aim, future generations will complete our endeavours and attain the goal ... It is the duty of the peoples of the East in general, and that of the Egyptians in particular, to study the European party systems, the relations between the parties, their programmes and their methods of government in order to adopt them afterwards."(1)

It must be pointed out that Nadīm does not advocate the use of force in demanding these rights. "We must press our demands not by forcible, but by peaceful means, with tranquillity, safeguarding the rights of foreigners and immigrants; we must beware of the intrigues of expatriates and the plots of mercenary elements."(2) He also stresses the importance of the press for the party system. Every party also ought to possess its own organ to inform the public of its

(1) Al-Ustādh, P.463.
(2) Ibid, P.464.

programme, to propagate its ideas and support its plans, and to draw the attention of the politicians to the requirements of the situation."(1)

The growth of the popularity of the young Khedive was parallel and simultaneous with the spread of his organ, Al-Ustādh, whose circulation reached three thousand copies in its XIX issue on December 27, 1892,(2) so that it incontestably became the most popular paper in Egypt. "The paper /Al-Ustādh/," stated The Times, "has the largest Egyptian circulation amongst the native newspapers."(3) The country constantly manifested its confidence in and appreciation of the new sovereign, and was lavish with protestations of affection on every occasion. The visible support of the nation increased the Khedive's moral strength in opposing the domination of the country by British representatives, and made him attempt to exercise his full sovereign powers. In the ebullience of youthful pride, he acutely resented the submissive attitude of the above mentioned Prime Minister, Muṣṭafā Fahmī, whom the occupation had surnamed "the ideal Prime Minister."(4) He profited by the latter's illness and dismissed him from office, replacing him, in January, 1893, by Ḥusayn Fakhrī Pasha. This led to the well-known crisis between Lord Cromer and the Khedive, for ʿAbbās II had not considered it necessary to secure Lord Cromer's consent, and was

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(1) Al-Ustādh, P.P.464-465.
(2) Cf. Ibid, P.451.
(3) The Times, 20.3.1893.
(4) Milner, op.cit., P.163.

consequently threatened by the latter with the fate of his grandfather Ismā'īl who had been dethroned and expelled from the country. Protracted negotiations resulted in a stalemate, for the Khedive persistently refused to nominate any of the personalities suggested by Lord Cromer, but finally appointed Riyāḍ Pasha in place of Ḥusayn Fahkrī, who resigned to save the situation.(1)

This crisis was another turning point in both Nadīm's policy and the history of the national movement: he threw all caution overboard and boldly attacked the occupation and the British sponsored newspapers. It introduced the second phase in the development of the national movement, whose aims henceforth were: active resistance to the occupation and the demand for the full autonomy of Egypt. The movement was encouraged by the Khedive, but Nadīm remained throughout its spiritual leader.

It is needless to state that the two opposing press groups did all they could to defend the policy they stood for. As was only to be expected, Nadīm was on his toes to lead the national press group during the crisis. He published an extremely inflammatory article under the title Law Kuntum Mithlanā Lafa'altum Fi'lanā (If You Were As We Are, You Would Do As We Do),(2) one of the longest articles he wrote in his life.(3)

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(1) For details of the crisis cf, Rāfi'ī, Muṣṭafā, P.266-267; Shafīq, op.cit., vol, ii, P.P.57-61; The Times, 17, 19, and 20 January, 1893; Blunt, My Diaries, vol, i, P.P.106-108.

(2) Al-Ustādh, P.P.507-533.

(3) It consisted of twenty six pages.

It was a merciless attack against the occupation which, as he said, had thrown off its mask, showing its true face. It had come under the pretext of protecting the Khedive, and preserving the very rights of which it was now trying to rob him. In this article, he branded the Western policy of financial and political exploitation of the East: even the Western missionaries, the purported bearers of progress and civilisation, only attempted to divert people from their loyalty to their country and religion. Any attempt to criticise the Europeans merely elicited the invariable reply: "If you were as we are, you would do as we do." "Europe maintains", he said," that the East needs its intervention for a reform of its administration, its finance and trade, and for the education of its countries according to European methods; however, European politicians have unanimously decided to turn the East into a colony, and have agreed to annex it bit by bit ... They have dismembered the victim: 'This for you and this for me;' the reasons they put forward are as twisted as the movements of a snake and vary in each case of annexion; some do it by trade relations, some by way of reprisal for the insult of a consular doorkeeper, some because they wish to preserve the life-way of the empire... They protested, at first that they would not interfere with religion, customs or way of life, but are gradually destroying both ... This is England that has come to Egypt, pretending to have been called in by the Egyptian authorities ... to support the Khedive... to preserve order and to establish a

system of government on the European model ... has she done that? This is her work, those are its signs..."(1) Extensive was the harm England had done to Egypt, said Kadīm. One of the incriminating actions was the annexion of Egypt at the hands of Egyptians, using the Egyptians as figure-heads the better to attain her aims. He also accused Britain of having removed Egyptians from the administration of their country, replacing t them by foreign adventurers and mercenary expatriates, of giving government contracts to Europeans spending millions of Egyptian revenue on the upkeep of the army of occupation; of closing down schools and replacing in the few that remained Arabic by English and French, He pointed out, finally, that it was the policy of Britain to have all these misdeeds perpetrated by Egyptians agents to save her own face.

He did not confine his attacks to the British, but also blamed the submissive and cowardly attitude of the statesmen and notables of the East who instilled the fear of Europe in the hearts of their peoples:

"The calamity of calamities is that the Kings of the East and its statesmen have filled the hearts of their peoples with irrational fear of the European. They threaten them with big names like baron, lord, count, marquess, admiral, sir, major, until they make them believe that the European is a superhuman being who can turn any country upside down, or a djinn who can destroy it by fire in one second. No wonder the Eastern nations are plunged in abasement and humiliation ... You hear

(1) Al-Ustādh, P.P.511-515.

the Orientals speak in a loud voice when they are alone, a voice of glory and honour, but if they go out they are driven like flocks of sheep fleeing before the stick of the weakest of Europeans ..."(1)

He calls on the intellectuals and notables not to keep aloof from the crowd, but to found circles which would enable people of all classes to meet "to arouse, in peoples hearts', a degree of solidarity and public spirit, ~~and~~ more powerful than swords and guns, which no power in the world could divert from the Egyptian way...He stressed the untold harm done to the country by the dissension between prominent Egyptians."What do the prominent people gain by this dissension and discord of opinion, except the advancement of others[i.e.the British] and their own regression? It would only mean to supply the revenue to finance the welfare of the old and destitute in foreign countries."(2) It is the first time since his comeback that Nadīm boldly calls on the nation to rise and resist the occupation, and to demand full autonomy for their country. "Let us renounce polite words! Let us abandon the attitude of indifference and look at wrongs perpetrated in Egypt through the eyes of wise and patriotic Egyptians. In fact, political clubs have only come into existence for the purpose of making the country democratic; what is more, they have already been successful in this respect in Europe where they have overthrown many régimes. It is claimed that we are on the way to

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(1) Al-Ustādh, P.512.
(2) Ibid,P.219.

constitutional government; why do we not, in accordance with this contention, support the government /i.e. the popular government appointed by the sovereign/ as democrats do?... I warn you that if the notables persist in their indifference and remain interested only in their silence, the faint-hearted persist in their fear of foreigners, and the general public in its ignorance of the position and of the right way to be pursued .. . do not object, then not only England, but African savages will come and occupy us, driving us from our homes and separating us from our families... Has not England occupied Egypt to get us to imitate the European way to live and be governed? Al-Ustādh does not call for more; it demands that the country be governed as Europe is governed, and wants to preserve the nation and to defend its rights and to adhere to the language and to observe the religion and the customs as Europeans do ... Has not England promised Europe that whenever we find capable men to govern the country, and to preserve order in it and to carry out progressive reforms, she will immediately evacuate Egypt... Here we have these men who have studied in Europe and know your ways of government, and are now waiting for the fulfilment of their hopes... They should be given precedence before these foreigners who spend Egyptian money to thwart the nation's government..." (1) But, since forcible

(1) Al-Ustādh, P.P.519-522.

means have failed, Nadīm recommends once more to press these demands by legal methods only. "If it is so, what prevents the Egyptians from demanding their rights by peaceful means? Are we less than labourers or textile workers of England who ask for their comfort and who astonish the world by their deeds? Why do we not do as they have done? We would only imitate the peoples of Europe in that."(1)

For the first time in ten years, Nadīm refers in public to the disastrous consequences of the defeat of the national movement of 1882, chiding the anti-nationalists who had clamoured for foreign interference and had thus caused the present situation: "All of you should say: 'With my own hands have I done it, not with the hands of Tom, Dick and Harry.' A decade has passed; remember how you greeted the coming /of the occupation/ with happiness and joy, and gloried in the illusion. But you were blind to its consequences. Your poets recited sonorous eulogies, and you drank the health of the conqueror whom you yourselves had invited to occupy your country, and whom you yourselves had supported, thus failing your own brothers. You even spent your money and gave your souls to pave the way for them to come to the country. You did not tarry in offering them positions of authority; besides, how often did you duck your heads and incline your backs and

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(1) Al-Ustādh, P.P. 522-523.

bend your knees before them to extol them and to prostrate yourselves and to spit in your brothers face?[1] Did you not don your best clothes waiting for the day on which a hundred thousand Egyptians were to be hung?[2] These days have shown you how the wheels are turning, and how illusions can spell disaster for one who has been unable to foresee the results, and who has jumped into the fangs of the snake for fear of the lizard."[3] It must be stressed that what Nadīm has in mind when he speaks of the Egyptians are not only the Muslims, but all the three religions communities: Muslims, Copts and Jews, who form together the core of the nation. "You are the sons of Egypt... The Muslim should unite with his brother Muslim and both should join their brother, the Copt, and the three should come back to their brother, the /Egyptian/ Jew, and be one man, working for one aim: "Egypt for the Egyptians."[4]

Nadīm could not help mentioning al-Muqaṭṭam as the most violent exponent of Lord Cromer's policy. He refers to it in the same article under the subtitle: Anā Akhūka fa Lima Ankartanī?![5] (I am Your Brother, Why Do You Deny Me?!) "Al-Shām

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(1) Those he has in mind are 'Urābī and his imprisoned colleagues after the surrender in September, 1882.
(2) He refers to the imprisoned 'Urābists; the number is somewhat exaggerated.
(3) Al-Ustādh, P.P.520-521.
(4) Al-Ustādh, P.526.
(5) Al-Ustādh, P.P.530-533.

and Egypt are twins," says Nadīm, "their father is one; what harms one, harms both, how have their sons come to hate each other? And /why do/ the Syrians join the side which is alien to the Egyptians, although they live in Egypt, smell its earth and drink its water?... Is it worth it to sell one's brother and one's country and to devote one's whole life to the service of a foreign country for a salary of twenty pounds? Alas, how desolate is the state the countries of the East have reached! ..."(1)

This inflammatory article put, as it were, the finger on the sore spot, at the crucial moment of the crisis between the occupation and the Khedive; it inflamed the hearts and the imagination of the public to such a degree that the nation was all agog with expectation and tense with excitement. Egyptian Youth, headed by Nadīm's disciples, among them Muṣṭafā Kāmil, marched for the first time after the occupation in the streets of Cairo, demonstrating for the Khedive and against the British chanting anti-British slogans, demanding the evacuation of the country, burning the editorial premises of al-Muqaṭṭam; "a body of students and employees", reported The Times, "met the Khedive's carriage and, after cheering him, entered the premises of al-Muqaṭṭam which advocates English reforms. They there indulged in hostile cries until the police dispersed them."(2)

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(1) Al-Ustādh, P.530-531.
(2) The Times, 21.1.1893, cf.also 23,24.1.1893.

Deputations from every corner of the country arrived in th the capital to manifest their support for the Khedive, and hailed their young sovereign as Nadim had prompted them to do. "Numerous deputations from the inhabitants of provincial towns who have been deceived by garbled accounts[1] of the recent crisis published by the Anglophobe native papers are arriving in Cairo, headed by subordinate local officials to congratulate the Khedive upon the success which they believed he achieved in the difficulty with the British agent."[2] In another place The Times writes: "Strong political feeling which was almost non-existent a year ago is displayed throughout the country and is being fomented by violent attacks on the part of the local press against England, with eulogies of the Khedive's attitude."[3] It led to demonstrations against European interference at first in Cairo, and then all over the country. "The population ... made an imposing demonstration to show its entire harmony with 'Abbas Pasha, and to prove that this first resistance of the Khedive is supported by public opinion."[4] In fact,"his triumph over England's influence has been fostered by deputations and telegrams from the provinces, congratulating him on his firmness against England."[5]

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(1) Thus 'The Times' which naturally supported Lord Cromer.
(2) The Times, 24.1.1893.
(3) The Times, 25.1.1893.
(4) The Times, 20.1.1893.
(5) The Times, 24.1.1893.

British newspapers were not slow in taking action, attacking the Egyptian press, against which they brought the charge of Anglophobia: "The Anglophobe native press is publishing violent articles against the British."(1) They also raised against the people of Egypt the ever ready accusation of chauvinism. "A pronounced feeling of public insecurity has been caused by endeavours, more or less successful, to arouse an anti-English spirit which has been vigorously fanned by the local papers. There is danger of an unchecked anti-European movement spreading with great rapidity in this large Mohammedan city."(2)

Nadīm developed so much zeal in supporting the cause of the young Khedive who had so valiantly espoused the national cause(3) that even the death of his father caused no interruption in his journalistic activity, and the next issue of Al-Ustādh appeared according to schedule.(4) Its main article advocated the stand taken up by the Khedive, and defended him and his subjects against the accusations of the European press. In this article, entitled Al-Ḥuqūq al Muqaddasah (Sacred Rights.),(5) he dealt with the right of the Khedive to nominate his ministers and to govern his country without outside interference. He also, in the same issue, refuted the allegations of certain British newspapers that fanaticism and disorder were rife in Egypt.

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(1) The Times, 25.1.1893.
(2) The Times, 21.1.1893.
(3) On 23.1.1893; cf.Al-Ustādh. P.553-554.
(4) On 24.1.1893.
(5) Al-Ustādh, P.P.539-545.

"I give my sincere advice", wrote Nadīm, "to my brother Egyptian of whatever religious denomination he may be, to look into the future, to anticipate the consequences of the situation, to keep aloof of everything that generates disorder, and to treat **Europeans** as well as he can ... so that the difference between fanaticism and religious zeal becomes apparent. For the religious man lives in peace and harmony with all men, wherever they may come from, observing his own religious duties, main and small, to the best of his ability. When they meet, they meet under the laws of humanity, but when they part, each of them goes to his own temple to perform his own religious rites.. The fanatic is the one that always compels the others to adopt his own religion, attacks other religions, and incites people to be aggressive with regard to others. Neither the Egyptians in particular, nor the Moslems in general have ever behaved in this way since the beginning of Islam."(1)

Refuting accusations of disorders, raised by British newspapers(2) and their Syrian supporters, especially al-Muqaṭṭam, Nadim wrote, under the title: Lā Da'wā ʿAlā Taḥdīd al-'Amn(3) (There is No Evidence of a Threat to Order /īn Egypt/): "This statement, no one would utter it except those who suffer at the sight of peace and harmony in Egypt, and would hate it if the Egyptians were equal to other civilised nations, and if the rights of the Khedive were safeguarded... Can it be described

(1) Al-Ustādh, P.P.545-548.
(2) Cf. The Times, 21.1.1893.; 2.2.1893.
(3) Al-Ustādh, P.P.555-563.

as disorder, if deputations come from the provinces to pay homage to the Khedive and congratulate him on having recovered his rights! No; but the rumours and intrigues of the anti-Egyptian press and its fabrications are the ones that create disorder ... It is strange that we hear from Europe of nihilists demonstrating and even killing their king, of socialists and proletarians doing this and that, or textile workers and miners demanding an increase in wages and blowing up places with dynamite, and of the Irish demonstrating against the police, arms in hand. It is even stranger that all their deeds, even such that aim at a change of régime or even at the assassination of dignitaries and the destruction of places with dynamite, should not be called disturbances of public order, but that the visit paid by a deputation to the Khedive should be interpreted as a great danger to public security."(1)

In this article, Nadīm differentiates between those newspapers that foment disorder and those that do not, pointing unequivocally to al-Muqaṭṭam as the chief "mischief-maker:"(2) "If we observe the moderate newspapers of Egypt, we will find that they are emphatic in stating that public order is stable and not affected by the crisis... the only exception among them is the one that plants hatred in the hearts of the people and breeds animosity in Egyptian hearts against the British and their deeds in Egypt."(3)

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(1) Al-Ustādh, P.P.555-558.
(2) Ibid, P.561.
(3) Al-Ustādh, P.561.

With this crisis, the second phase of the national movement reached its climax. "The country has at last been aroused", admitted The Times, "under the impulsion of the Khedive whose energy excited the admiration of Europe as well as of the whole East."(1) But the fact deserves mention that, while the first and the second phase of the movement coincided in their main aim which was, for both, liberty and democracy, there was a marked difference in the means by which it was proposed to attain this ultimate goal. To begin with, the opponent was not the same. In its first phase, the struggle was directed against the Khedive and his henchmen, the Turco-Egyptian autocrats on the one hand, and against foreign interference on the other, and culminated in a genuine, hot war. In the second phase, the opponent was the British occupation: the Khedive was no longer the adversary of the movement but, from the very first, its protector and its head.(2) In the interval between the two phases Nadīm, its spiritual leader, had learned his lesson which was that it was safer not to resort to force as the main means of ~~the~~ struggle, but to content oneself with the skilful use of legal methods.

The new national movement had begun to propagate resistance and to formulate its demands. These were stated by Nadīm in an article under the title Mustaqbal Miṣr (The Future of Egypt).(3)

(1) The Times, 25.1.1893.
(2) Cf. Ibid, 17.2.1893; Blunt, My Diaries, vol,i,P.P.103-104.
(3) Al-Ustādh, P.P.579-584.

in which he attacked the practice of the régime in power to fill the positions of authority in both army and civil service with foreigners: "To give free hand to foreigners in the admin stration of departments is not compatible with the good of the state; in fact, it usurps the rights of the nation... It is impossible that progress or order should be achieved under rulers who stand in no relationship to the people they rule, and have no other motive but to earn their pay, or to strengthen the power of their own nation... I beg my countrymen, when they discuss the British occupation, to discuss it wisely and to examine the facts with care... For England came to Egypt to support the Khedive and to form a constitutional government. This has been internationally proclaimed. She has never said that she has come with the motive of annexing Egypt to her empire; she has limited the occupation to the moment these aims are fulfilled... The Khedive is now no longer in need of her support... She thinks that the government is not yet constitutional; but she herself is the obstacle, for she has put the administration in the hands of foreigners, and has not let the Egyptians carry through the reform of their country under her supervision. It is no wonder then, that the administration is unsound and the country in disorder. If it was her aim to ruin the country, she has succeeded; but if she wants to reform the country and hand it to her sons - how can it ever be? For she never gives them any authority, but endeavours to keep them from any high position

in which they could be trained for self-government."(1)

Nadīm's arguments provided a powerful impulse to other Egyptian newspapers to follow suit and enter into details. This was immediately noticed and commented upon in Britain. "The native newspapers", writes the correspondent of The Times in Egypt; "are going to great lengths in violent attacks on the departments under English guidance, especially those of Justice and Police, and are doing their utmost to excite public feeling against those officials whose position is not firmly settled."(2) Nadīm's demands greatly appealed to the Egyptian services, "Indeed", commented The Times, "they have already shown their animus and power in Government departments where the English officials find their control suddenly paralysed."(3) They also appealed to the new Prime Minister Riyāḍ Pasha who, being a man of dictatorial propensities, resented being ordered about by the British and wanted to gain the support of the nation in his struggle to wrench more personal power from Lord Cromer. Nadīm's wish to oust the British from their positions of authority admirably suited Riyāḍ's aims, and induced him to encourage the national movement. This is why, for a certain time, Riyāḍ's egoistic aims and the patriotic postulates of the national movement run parallel and even coincide. This move on the part of Riyāḍ was interpreted in British circles as reactionary

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(1) Al-Ustādh, P.P.579-580.
(2) The Times, 13.3.1893.
(3) The Times, 17.2.1893.

opposition to their so-called reform: "Riyad Pasha is steadily tightening the reins of personal government and the result is seen in the stoppage of the progress of reforms which is about equivalent to retrogression. Riyad Pasha's.. conservative and anti-European disposition renders them hostile to new measures, and instead of strengthening established English institutions, his policy is to weaken the action and influence the officials appointed to promote them."(1)

In a counter attack from the other press camp, al-Muqattam gave the British credit for organising Egyptian administration; Egypt would possess no proper administration, and would have remained ignorant of reform had it not been for the British, for the Egyptians were, by their very nature, incapable of governing themselves.(2) In an effective riposte in the series under the title Ḥālunā 'Ams Wa al-Yawm (Our Past and Present Position)(3) Nadīm asks: "is it not most peculiar that everyone that comes to Egypt, even that foreigner who came to earn his living, and benefits by the hospitality of Egypt and the good nature of her people, claims to be more capable of reforming her and more eligible to administer her than the Egyptian, amd more deserving to conduct her trade than her own sons? Their first word of greeting to the Egyptian is: 'You are incapable of conducting your own business, ignorant of the way of reform, and know nothing of the methods of government!' ... Alas, these are words that have been uttered in the first

(1) The Times, 10.3.1893.
(2) Al-Muqaṭṭam, all through January and February, 1893, especially 15.2.1893.
(3) Al-Ustādh, P.P.643, 729-743.

and most ancient metropolis of science, civilisation and politics in the world... Mercenary newspapers constantly mislead people's thoughts and give foreigners the credit for every reform... but those who lived in the last century, /i.e. 13th. century A.H. from 1786-1882/ know how Egypt was then administered and civilised.(1) Nadīm gives a detailed description of Muḥammad 'Alī's time, and points to the history of its administration, education, trade, agriculture and army, in order to remind the Egyptians that "these were not achieved by the British, as mercenary newspapers allege, but were exclusively the merit of our fathers."(2)

The propaganda of the national movement which was conducted by Muslim and Christian papers alike - although Muslim papers, as a matter of course, prevailed in number - was invariably misinterpreted by the British press as a manifestation of religious fanaticism. But Nadīm was not slow in refuting the accusation in Al-Ustādh: "They accuse the Muslim press with false accusations which they have invented themselves... You must know, they in Britain are never in pain except when a Muslim country demands its rights; this is really, that fanaticism of which they accuse us, but which is found nowhere but in England... If they could see the Manshiyyah in Alexandria and Azbakiyyah in Cairo(3) and the wine-houses in towns and villages, and see the growing eagerness of

(1) Al-Ustādh, P.643. of 28.2.1893. N.B. There is a mistake in the numbers of the issue of 28.2.1893.
(2) Ibid, P.644.
(3) Notorious for prostitution.

people to drink and keep aloof of mosques, they would say: 'Egyptians fail to observe their religion', but they would not say: 'They are fanatics' They do not know about Egypt, but what they are told by The Times, The Daily News and the Italian press; their tourists see but Shepheard's /hotel/, surrounded by modern districts, and may therefore suppose that all Egypt has participated in the same degree in the modernisation brought about by England. They will go home and fill newspapers and meetings with what colossal reform has been carried through by England in Egypt... But if they knew the truth and went deeper, they would feel pity with us under the British occupation..."(1)

In fact, the aura of glory which still surrounded Lord Cromer's policy in the eyes of many Egyptians, paled considerably for two main reasons: first, owing to "the self-assertive attitude of the young Khedive and the fact that Egypt generally believed he gained a triumph over British pretentions by the dismissal of the three ministers who steadily supported British influence."(2) Secondly, due to the open attack of the national press on the British occupation, "The Mohammedan press", said The Times, "which takes its inspiration from the well-known sentiments and statements of the Khedive, continues to publish inflammatory articles"(3) and, as stated in another place by The Times, "The native press foments sedition by most violent

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(1) Al-Ustādh, P.P.697-698.
(2) The Times, 17.2.1893, as to the support of the nation for the Khedive in this crisis, cf. also ibid, 6th and 11th, February, 1893.
(3) Ibid, 26.1.1893.

articles against the English control and praises the Khedive for his attitude of opposition."(1)

Lord Cromer, on his part, attempted to regain lost ground in two ways: in the first place, by increasing the army of occupation as an indirect threat to the Khedive and the new national movement;(2) secondly, by trying to gain the sympathies of the population. Thus Lord Cromer who had never given any thought to the possibility of friendly relations with Egyptians(3) suddenly began inviting prominent and educated citizens of the country to parties and attempted to convince them affably and with condescension, that if ʿAbbās regained his authority, he would restore despotic rule in the Turkish manner, while the British stood for reform and the benefit of the nation.(4) Nadīm unmasked the ulterior motives behind Lord Cromer's change of attitude in an article entitled Hādhihī Yadī Fī Yadi Man ʾAḍaʿuhā (This is My Hand; with Whose Hand Shall I Link It.)(5) "Indeed", wrote Nadīm," you must take your brother Egyptians' hand and join hands in the love of your sovereign... and your Khalifa or cut it off rather than put it in the hand of a foreigner who inveigles you with lying promises and vain

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(1) The Times, 2.2.1893.
(2) Shafīq, op.cit. vol.ii, P.70; Blunt,My Diaries,vol.i,P.108.
(3) Cf. Blunt, My Diaries, vol.i, P.55.
(4) Cf. Al-Ustādh, P.P.695-699.
(5) Ibid, P.695 - 699.

subterfuge... demonstrating his exertions for your benefit and his love for your progress... misleading you by accusing your rulers of ignorance and despotism... representing an illusion as if it were truth and diverting your thought from the East to the West to take these thoughts and turn them into arguments for his own tongue and his own support, so that you become his hand in the destruction of your own rights in your own country... maintaining the occupation of your country and dethroning your sovereign...(1)

Lord Cromer did not fail to realise that Al-Ustādh which, with its inflammatory anti-European and especially anti-British tendencies and its constant demands for self-government and the evacuation of Egypt, provided a strong and continually renewed impulse towards a new revolution, was rapidly developing into a dangerous threat to his régime. He also realised that al-Muqaṭṭam and its satellite pro-British group of papers could not effectively withstand the impact of Nadīm's terrific driving force. He was also aware of the fact, that if he left Nadīm to go on leading the national movement and to publish articles in Al-Ustādh, openly attacking the established policy of England in Egypt, serious disturbances would result which would endanger British rule in Egypt.(2) Therefore he decided to bring pressure to bear on the Prime

(1) Al-Ustādh, P.695.
(2) Yakan, op.cit., vol.i, P.29; Ṭarrāzī, op.cit.,vol.iii,P.85; Rāfi'ī,Miṣr, P.202.

Minister to warn Nadīm to abandon his anti-British campaign in Al-Ustādh. "Riyād Pasha, at the request of Her Majesty's Government agent, had administered a warning /on March 19th, 1893/ to a native journal on account of its continued abuse of English measures. This newspaper is conducted by 'Abd Allāh Nadīm, one of the most violent and seditious orators who excited the Arabs in 1882. The paper is stated to have the largest Egyptian circulation amongst the native newspapers."(1) " The patriotic sector of the Egyptian press, seconded by some Arabic papers outside the borders of the country,(2) strongly protested against this warning while the pro-British press camp spread the rumour that Nadīm's impending banishment from Egypt would put an end to his activities. Nadīm instantly defended himself: "Al-Ustādh is entitled to as much freedom as those Protestant newspapers which publish Christian religious articles in Arabic without impediment, and at least to as much freedom as the mercenary newspapers when they write about our matters as they like as suits their sponsors."(3) The warning affected Nadīm very little or not at all; the articles consecutive on this warning are ample proof of that. It can even be said that the intensity of his campaign against the British occupation and the British press increased under pressure.(4) It is certain that he still enjoyed the support of

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(1) The Times, 20.3.1893.
(2) Cf. Al-Ustādh, P.791.
(3) Al-Ustādh, P.P.791-792.
(4) For details cf.ibid, P.P. 761-766; 793-799.

the Khedive and probably still that of Riyāḍ Pasha, a support which was full of enthusiasm on the part of the young sovereigns, but half-hearted and more or less dictated by opportunism on the part of the Prime Minister.

Since the incident of Le Bosphore had made it difficult to take arbitrary steps against the oppositional press, the move to stop the press campaign ended in a failure. This led to a change of policy on the part of the British representatives who now proceeded to an attack on two fronts: on the one hand, they initiated a war of nerves in the press under their aegis, ridiculing the young Khedive, threatening him with reprisals like dethronment, or the use of force, stressing the relative weakness of a small country like Egypt in comparison with a power like England; on the other hand, Lord Cromer began wooing Riyāḍ, trying to win him over to his camp. In the ensuing counter attack Nadīm pointed out, in an article entitled: "Ḥarb al-Aqlām bi Juyūsh al-Awhām"(1) (The War of Words with Weapons of Imagination) that power, however great, would not stop Egypt from demanding autonomy, and international conscience would support her demands. The words in which England usually stated her case in the East, namely that she loved peace and merely worked for the interests of its peoples, were deceitful for they "were a mirage like Fata Morgana, and cunningly lured people into submitting to

(1) Al-Ustādh, P.P. 793-799.

her... but now the veil has been lifted and light has fallen for the eyes to see, and people have now realised that the real objective is colonialism with the whip of conquest."(1)

Al-Muqaṭṭam, Le Progrès and the Egyptian Gazette realised at this juncture that they would never prevail against Nadim. "for Al-Ustādh had gained fame and had a hold over public opinion which no periodical had ever enjoyed before,"(2) and "consolidated the oppositional press group to a point at which it became a threat to Lord Cromer,"(3) and of course to the pro-British group. In fact, "the Frenchified Maronites of the Ahram /were/ not directly dangerous to them."(4) But they had a keen, able and indefatigable opponent in Al-Ustādh which was a power to be reckoned with. The population read it with pleasure, finding in it what most delighted their hearts. There they read, in a well-chosen and simple language, their own thoughts;(5) for such is the art of a cunning journalist, that the unsuspicious reader follows in the track of the writer's thoughts, and fancies them to be his own. Therefore, the pro-British press group accused him of instigating a rising on the pattern of 'Urābī's revolution; they also accused him of sowing hatred between Egypt and Britain. They warned the British authorities to beware of Nadīm and expel him or at least stop the pen that was leading the nation into danger.

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(1) Al-Ustadh. P.796.
(2) Ṭarrāzī, op.cit., vol, iii, P.85.
(3) Rāfi'ī, Miṣr, p.202.
(4) Hartmann, op.cit., P.11.
(5) Cf. Amīn, Zu'amā', P.P. 239-242.

British newspapers also joined in the campaign against Nadīm, raising against him the already stereotyped accusation of fanaticism.(1) In refutation of these charges, Nadīm wrote the article "Hādhā 'Indakum Famā Muqābiluhu 'Indanā?"(2) (You Have Done That; Have We Done Anything Comparable?), using already familiar arguments: "Many a time have British newspapers accused us of fanaticism, in order to mislead British public opinion and to popularise the policies of their politicians which are inspired by colonial interests. But if we examine the position of Muslims and compare their tolerance and brotherly treatment of other religions with the endeavour of the other side to proselytise, we shall realise that the result would surprise the minds and confuse the thoughts ... We have never yet heard of a Muslim having gone to Europe to convert its inhabitants to Islam. Neither have we heard of Muslim missionaries having been found to spread Islam among Christians; nor have we heard of conferences of Muslims held to agree upon the best way of diverting Christians from their religion. But Europe has done all that, and despite that it is us that they call fanatics!!"(3) In support of this statement, Nadīm quotes from the minutes of the 1892 session of the Anglican Bible Society, stating how many millions of pounds were spent on

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(1) Cf. The Daily News, The Times, all through April and May, 1893; cf. also Amīn, Zu'amā', p.242; Al-Ustādh, pp.791,812.
(2) Al-Ustādh, pp. 812-827.
(3) Ibid., p. 812-813.

missionary societies, and how many religious books were yearly circulated among other religious communities: "Is this an act of tolerance? Is this compatible with the alleged non-interference with the religions of others? Or is it the deed of one that is hard at work to spread his own religion and abolish every other faith? Are people who do such strange things not fanatics? But Muslims who avoid doing all that, are they fanatics? 'Glory be to Thee O Allah ! This is an awful calumny!'"(1) He also gives details of missionary activities in other Muslim countries,(2) quoting passages from books written by missionaries: the passages he quotes deal with the Christians' duty to counteract the influence of Islam on Muslims: "If a Muslim wrote a book of this kind, all Europe would rise against him, regarding it as the signal for a Holy War, and would recall her consuls and her subjects averring that anarchy was prevalent in the East, and that Muslims had become ferocious barbarians. Now we ask those, who fill the columns of The Times and other British papers, why they accuse the Egyptian in particular and the Muslim in general of fanaticism ... Do they declare that Christianity and other religions are wrong and must be abolished? ... Do they even found missionary schools in Europe to make converts among its children?".(3)

The thirty-sixth issue of Al-Ustādh which appeared on May

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(1) Qur'ān, Sūrat al-Nūr, 'Āyah no. 16; Al-Ustādh, p.814.
(2) Ibid., pp. 814-823.
(3) Al-Ustādh, pp. 823-824.

2nd, 1893, is conspicuous by the absence of the usual political invective against the British occupation. Nadīm's contribution to this issue consists of a news-bulletin on recent social activities of the Khedive eulogising the sovereign, an article praising the Caliph's care for the prosperity of the nation, and some Zajal under the title Al-Nash'ah al-Miṣriyyah,(1) repeating the familiar pattern of criticism of the protagonist of the pro-British press group, al-Muqaṭṭam, and eulogising the pro-national group which, according to his account, consisted of twenty-two newspapers and periodicals.(2) It can be inferred that this sudden change of Nadīm's journalistic habits was the consequence of a split between the Khedive and Riyāḍ. The former had been unwilling to part with what he considered his prerogatives, while Riyāḍ, the inveterate despot, was hankering after more authority. Lord Cromer, who had hitherto made vain attempts to dissociate Riyāḍ from the national movement, profited by the rift between the Khedive and the Prime Minister to whom he conceded in matters of

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(1) Al-Ustādh, pp. 858-862.

(2) Ibid.

interior administration the authority he coveted. Consequently, Riyāḍ who, as has been stated, had been described by The Times (1) as an enemy of British reform only a short time before, turned, in a matter of weeks, into a "loyal friend of the British". "Riyāḍ Pasha, whose strong character dominated the rest, is entirely in favour of harmonious action and co-operating loyally with the English officials, who interfere less than before in direct administration, and who, relying more on their own guidance and surveillance, leave a greater amount of initiative to their native colleagues" (2).

It is obvious that Nadīm feared that Riyāḍ, after his change of orientation, would soon come to consider Al-Ustādh, the organ of the Khedive, as his implacable enemy. Therefore, it is possible that Nadīm relaxed for a while in his campaign against the British not to antagonise the new ally of Lord Cromer.

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(1) Cf. The Times, 10.3.1893.

(2) The Times, 22.5.1893.

As regards political matter, although Al-Ustādh was now temporarily silenced, part of Nadīm's aim was already achieved. The fresh breeze of the new revolution made itself felt more strongly. All over the country, at meetings and in conversations, in the open criticism of the occupation and in the general undisguised demands of evacuation, one could observe a distinct resurgence of nationalism.

" He /Nadīm/ had often repeated to them /the nationalists/ the burden of the song about patriotism and lost freedom... and incited them to a rising, and the Khedivial authority favoured him and provided him with what made his tongue speak... The country delighted in his tone and exulted in the revolut - ionary feeling in their hearts. "(1) The news of the growing revolutionary enthusiasm reached Lord Cromer's ears through his usual agents: " He was informed that he /Nadīm/ had followers awaiting his orders and marching under his banner, and that he had been the main cause of 'Urābī's revolution, and that, if he were left at liberty, he would lead again a revolution against the present rule. "(2) At last, " Lord Cromer came to believe that if Nadīm want on publishing Al-Ustādh, a

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(1) Yakan, op.cit., vol., 1, p.29.
(2) Yakan, op.cit., vol., 1, p.29; cf. also Amīn, Zu'amā', pp. 242 - 243.

revolution in the country would be inevitable. Desiring to avoid this trouble... he requested the Khedive to banish Nadīm [1], because he was fostering religious fanaticism in the country [2]. Profiting by this opportunity, al-Muqattam claimed that Nadīm's exile from the country [3], as well as the suspension of his paper, was already a foregone conclusion. Nadīm promptly retaliated in an article entitled Ṣabrun Jamīl [4] (Goodly Patience), attacking the main source of these rumours, the mercenary newspapers: " We proclaim to East and West that we are members of the national community under the aegis of the Khedive and with the full knowledge of the Egyptian government. We utter no word and make no move they are not informed of; nor are the British representatives ignorant of every detail of our lives, for we make no step without being followed by their agents who report to them what they see... It is not fitting for a great country like Britain to prohibit to Harry what is allowed to Tom and Dick, or to banish X /Nadīm/ to promote the welfare of Y /al-Muqaṭṭam/. At any rate, what the scandal-mongers maintain that we shall be banished from our country is an absolute lie

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(1) Yakan, op.cit., vol., 1, p.29; cf. also Amīn, Zuʿamāʾ, pp. 242-243

(2) Rāfiʿī, al-Thawrah, p.535; Amīn, Zuʿamāʾ, p.242; ʿAbduh, Taṭawwur, p.154.

(3) Al-Muqaṭṭam, 20 and 22.5.1893.

(4) Al-Ustādh, pp. 889 - 893

and fabrication, and should find no place in a government that calls itself democratic. "[1]

When he learned that the Khedive had refused to yield to Lord Cromer's wish, Nadīm threw himself into the battle with renewed strength and energy. He embarked on a new attack of his two main enemies: the occupation and its partisan al-Muqaṭṭam. He denied the claim that al-Muqaṭṭam was the official organ and criticised its way of promoting its circulation by exercising pressure on civil servants and provincial administrators to subscribe to the paper. He objected to the fact that a person who did not subscribe to it, or one who had subscribed already but sent it back unread, should suffer in his profession or be frustrated in his work in the administration or even expose his property to confiscation.[2] He drew a sharp dividing line between patriotic newspapers which should be read and mercenary newspapers which should be proscribed from the religious point of view; moreover, he wrote a Fatwā to the effect that anyone who read these papers committed an offence against his religion, and was a traitor to his country.[3] As to the occupation, his attack followed the same lines as before: he accused Britain of discriminating against Egyptians in the

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(1) Al-Ustādh, p.889
(2) Ibid, p.907
(3) Ibid, p.208.

civil service, relying on foreigners for the administration of Egypt, and of believing " the allegations proffered by the haters of the Egyptians /the owner of al-Muqaṭṭam/ that they were unfit for any work, and unable to cope with any situation. "[1] He also attacked the methods of the intelligence service on which the occupation relied for information.[2]

When the pro-British press group including Le Progrès and the Gazette, joined al-Muqaṭṭam in demanding Nadīm's banishment and the confiscation of his paper,[3] Nadīm's riposte was the severest yet in the entire campaign. The article which consisted of twenty-seven pages, and was introduced by two lines of poetry followed by a satire in rhymed prose, argued that the owners of al-Muqaṭṭam had proved by their attitude that they were the enemies of God, of the prophets, of the Sultan, of the Khedive, of the Egyptian cabinet, of the rulers of Egypt, of the people of Egypt, of England and France, of truth and order and even of themselves. Each of these allegations is elaborated in a special paragraph, headed by its own sub-title.[4] Nadīm gave his readers a solemn promise: " I will not replace the word of my eloquence in its sheath in this fight against hypocrites among writers and traitorous editors,

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(1) Al-Ustādh, pp. 910 - 911.
(2) Ibid, p.911.
(3) Cf. al-Muqaṭṭam, 19,20,22,23 May 1893.
(4) Cf. Al-Ustādh, pp. 921 - 948.

before I have cut their tongues which have become longer than they have the right to be. "[1]

The campaign of the pro-British camp now assumed larger proportions than ever, and its tone became exceedingly violent. Even some British newspapers joined in, demanding severe reprisals against Nadīm: " The fact that the rabid utterances of the native press ", wrote The Times, " continues unchecked is causing anxiety, and surprise is felt that England, who is responsible for the maintainance of order in the country, has not authoritatively interfered to stop this source of danger.

" The worst offender is the Ustādh, a paper started by 'Abd Allāh Nadīm shortly after his pardon and return from banishment to which he was sentenced as one of the most violent of incendiary orators during 'Urābī's revolt. He has been for months past fully as violent as formerly in preaching sedition, and the impunity which he enjoys naturally leads the natives to believe that he has the approval and protection of the Khedive or of His Highness's Ministers in his gross attacks upon Europeans and especially on the British. "[2] The Daily News wrote that Al-Ustādh " a native paper edited by 'Abd Allāh Nadīm who was a prominent character during the 'Urābī rebellion... continues to publish most violent attacks against Europeans.

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(1) Cf. Al-Ustādh, pp. 940.

(2) The Times, 29.5.1893.

It urges the pppulace to rise. Unless strong measures are taken it is feared that trouble may ensue. "[1]

In a new attempt to get rid of its dangerous rival al-Muqaṭṭam, not content with the usual charge of fostering fanaticism, waged a truculent attack against Nadīm, personally reviving the old accusation that he had taken part in the Alexandria riot[2] and in the subsequent looting and burning of the city.[3] It accused him of fostering fanaticism, and in order to discredit him upbraided him with having been, in his early days, a sponger and a tramp, begging his bread by reciting poetry and Zajal, by eulogising people at Mawlids (religious festivals) and in villages, and of consorting with Quradaṭiyyah - monkey-boys[4] - and maddāh[5] women. This attack was followed immediately by the second and last warning from the Ministry of the Interior, threatening final suspension if Al-Ustādh persisted in political agitation: " A warning is given to-night /29th May 1893/ ", wrote The Times, " by the official journal /Al-Waqā'i'/ to the native newspaper /Al-/ Ustādh which has of late frequently made violent attacks on the policy of the British Government

(1) Daily News, 25.5.1893.
(2) Cf. al-Muqaṭṭam, 23,24.5.1893.
(3) Cf. al-Maqaṭṭam, 23,24,25.5.1893.
(4) Cf. al-Muqaṭṭam, 26.8.1893; 27.5.1893
(5) It is a feature of village life that a certain class of men and women roam the streets, reciting poetry and Zajal soliciting small gifts of food or money; the custom is comparable to carol singing, but not confined to any season, although more frequently at harvest time.

in Egypt. The official journal remarks that Al-Ustādh is a scientific and literary review, but that it has since a certain time been in the habit of publishing political articles, a course which is foreign to the principles on which it was started and the Ministry of the Interior therefore invites the proprietor to refrain from publishing further articles on political questions. "[1] It seems that Nadīm fully realised the danger, for Al-Ustādh refrained henceforth from the discussion of political problems and " greatly modified its tone having been warned by the government. "[2] On June 6th, 1893, he limited himself / to rebutting, under the title Maḥmadatu 'Uddat Madhammah[3] (Blame Instead of Praise), the misrepresentation of the incriminating Ṭanṭa episode when he recited Zajal in public competition with professional 'Udabātiyyah under the patronage of Shāhīn Pasha in August 1877,[4] by throwing light on the true aspects of the matter.

However, neither the British circles of Cairo, nor the interested circles in England were of the opinion that the warning administered to Nadīm was sufficient to neutralise the potential danger of his presence on Egyptian soil. " Riyāḍ

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(1) The Times, 30th May, 1893; cf. also al-Muqaṭṭam, 31.5.1893.
(2) Daily News, 2.6.1893; cf. also 9.6.1893.
(3) Al-Ustādh, pp. 985 - 995.
(4) See above, p.68-71.

Pasha ", commented The Times," has given the mildest of warnings to Al-Ustādh for its incendiary publications. The occasion was a good one for the government to show strong disapproval of attempts to incite Muslims against the Christians, yet, although the editor of Al-Ustādh is the same man who in 1882 did his utmost to help in the Alexandria massacre, the official warning merely says that, the programme of his paper being literary and scientific, he is invited to abstain from politics. "(1) Certain of the support of the British press, Lord Cromer brought extremely strong pressure to bear on the Khedive to banish Nadīm from the country, for he feared that if Nadīm's political agitation were tolerated, it would not be long until a revolution on 'Urābī's pattern broke out again. At last, the Khedive yielded to this pressure, and proved " unable to protect who was protecting him. "(2) The decision reached was a compromise for, though the government requested Nadīm to leave the country, official condemnation was refrained from; he was never formally sentenced to exile, and his departure from the country was made to appear as a voluntary holiday abroad.(3) Nadīm was also given an ex-gratia payment of £400 and a monthly sum of £25 while he

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(1) The Times, 31.5.1893.
(2) Amīn, Zu'amā', p.243; cf. also, Taymūr, op.cit., p.26; Yakan, op.cit., vol. 1, pp. 29 - 30.
(3) Cf. The Times, 16.6.1893; also Al-Ustādh, p. 1031

remained abroad[1] and kept aloof from politics.

The forty-second issue of Al-Ustādh, which appeared on June 13th 1893, was the last issue of the paper. In this number Nadīm " states that he hopes to meet his readers after a few months; but meanwhile a change of air is necessary for his health. He blames certain local journals /al-Muqattam, Le Progrès, and The Gazette/, also The Times and The Daily News, for raising an outcry against Al-Ustādh and falsely accusing it of religious fanaticism. He eulogises the Khedive as ' the protector of Al-Ustādh, and the bravest prince of our time, also Riyāḍ Pasha, Egypt's one man, renowned for energy'... He thanks some of the Consuls-General, especially those of France and Russia, for the kind interest they had shown in the newspaper.[2] " The article proves that Nadīm still hoped that he would soon return and again take up the reins of the national movement. " Do not lament, my Eastern brother, the disappearance of Al-Ustādh; it is only for a little while, and he will return in fine fettle, and safe and sound.[3] " He thanked the patriotic newspapers which had lent him their support in his intrigues.[4] He also thanked the Egyptian public who had listened

(1) Cf. The Times, 21.6.1893; cf. also Samīr, op. cit., p.17; Taymūr, op.cit., p.26.
(2) The Times, 16.6.1893; cf. also Al-Ustādh, 13.6.1893, p.1030.
(3) Al-Ustādh, p.1031
(4) For the names of the newspapers, cf. Al-Ustādh, pp.1029 - 1030

to him with attention and was now enlightened enough to understand what was happening in the country.[1] He did not forget to thank al-Muqattam, with subtle irony, for having helped with its unpatriotic policy, to direct the attention of the nation to the right aims.[2]

This was the end of Nadīm's days in Egypt, his beloved country for whose freedom he had struggled twice, once in the first period of liberation until the breakdown of 'Urābī's revolution in 1882, and the second time from his return from his first exile (May 1892) until he was forced to leave the country again (June 1893). In both periods he took the lead and spared no effort for the cause of his nation. That is how he should be remembered in history: as a pillar of the first national movement of Egypt and as a bridge between the two stages of modern Egypt's struggle for liberty. For the second and third phase of the modern Egyptian national movement can by no means be regarded as distinct or separate from the first stage, inspired by Jamāl al-Dīn and carried into practice by his students, but as its continuation in spite of the virtual vacuum of a decade during Nadīm's absence from the scene of events. Owing to Nadīm, the two years' armed struggle for

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(1) Al-Ustādh, p.1031.
(2) Ibid., pp. 1031 - 1032.

national liberty in 1881 - 1882 did not disappear without trace or echo, but became the source and the foundation of all national movements in modern Egypt. He can be described as the link between two generations of freedom fighters in the history of the struggle for liberation in modern Egypt, a struggle whose second stage[1] he represents and which, originated by Jamāl al-Dīn[2] and begun by 'Urābī and Nadīm, is carried on, in its second phase, by Nadīm alone and in its third stage by Muṣṭafā Kāmil. All historians - with very few exceptions - tend to condemn the first national movement for its rapid collapse and easy surrender after the defeat, and accuse its leaders of cowardice. What they fail to recognise is the survival of the national movement in the person of one of its leaders, Nadīm, to whom it virtually owes its honour. Thus, the time is obviously ripe for a re-appraisal of the figure of Nadīm.

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(1) In the present work, the development of Egyptian nationalism has been considered as a phenomenon with a continuous line of evolution, and has, therefore, been divided into "phases" or stages.

(2) Rifā'ah al-Ṭahṭawī, (died 1873) was, in fact the first to give expression, in writing, to national ideas in Egypt after his return from France. His students later rallied round Jamāl al-Dīn, who put these ideas into action.

THE GENERAL OUTLOOK OF NADĪM'S MATURE YEARS.

From the views voiced by him in Al-Ustādh it can be inferred that, in the second phase of his nationalist struggle, his political ideas underwent a certain change. In the first phase, he had been a pioneer of Arabism and Islamic unity, but after his return from exile he propagated Pan-Orientalism, that is a federation of autonomous Eastern countries with the aim of checking the aggression of the West. There is, however, nothing extreme or radical in this change which merely represents a slight modification of his political outlook, for the term "Oriental", as he uses it, only refers to Muslim countries. However, the word "Islamic" is avoided on purpose, presumably to eliminate anything even faintly reminiscent of religious fanaticism, and to stress the equality of non-Muslims, i.e. all citizens of Eastern countries regardless of race and religion. Nadīm contends that "Glory under the banner of nationalism is preferable to humiliation under the banner of religion."(1)

Nadīm's ideas in this second period of nationalist activity can be summarized as follows: Europe, in spite of its internal differences of race and nationality, was united for the destruction of the East. At heart, Europe regarded Islam with fanatical hatred and contempt. European govern ments excused the attacks and humiliations inflicted upon

(1) Al-Ustādh, p.632.

Muslim states by citing the latter's backward condition, yet those same governments stifled, by a thousand means, even by war, every attempted effort of reform and revival in Muslim lands. The plain conclusion from all that was, of course, that the only way for the East to preserve itself from destruction was to unite in a great defensive alliance, to acquire the technique of Western progress, and to fathom the secrets of European power.

In Al-Ustādh, Nadīm also called for economic Pan-Orientalism to check the infiltration of European capital and goods. Europe's political conquest was paralleled by an economic conquest even more complete. The whole economic life of the East was disorganised by the aggressive competition of the West. The flood of cheap European goods had conquered Eastern markets, and European capital paved the way for political domination. Nadīm's idea of economic Pan-Orientalism is, in a nut shell: the wealth of the East for the East. The profits of Eastern trade and industry for Orientals, not for Europeans. European capital must be replaced by local capital. Foreign concessions on natural resources must be cancelled, and replaced by national stock companies.

Apart from his political articles, Al-Ustādh contains surveys and essays on a variety of subjects. In the field of sociology he published the already mentioned survey of

national customs and morals and their influence on the political fate of the nation.(1) He wrote about the 'Ulamā' and the effect of their teachings on the spiritual life of their country; about the heads of the state, kings and princes, their duties and their prerogatives, and their potential and actual influence on the happiness of their citizens; about ministers and their task of governing the nations, and how effective the right policy on their part could be in promoting progress in the countries they ruled; about merchants and capitalists and the great possibilities they had of raising the welfare and prosperity of their nations; he wrote about the academic élite(2) and its rôle in the world at large, and on the special contribution of scientists and their discoveries to the happiness and comfort of the human being. He also referred to men of letters and the impact of their books, their newspapers and speeches on the life of the nation, on the political guidance they provided by pointing to the right path, by moulding public opinion, and by keeping the fire of patriotic ardour burning in the hearts of the nations.(3)

In the field of history, he dealt with the history of the East and the effect of Islam and Arabian civilisation on the development of the world. He stressed that Arabian

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(1)(1) Al-Ustādh, pp. 11-15, 50-56, 81-86.
(2)(2) Ibid, pp.217-225.
(3)Cf. Ibid, pp.265-267.

civilisation had been the source and the inspiration of a new Western civilisation. He compared the subsequent decline of the Eastern world and the rise of the West, and spoke about the Egyptian Renaissance under Muḥammad ʿAlī's dynasty. Nadīm admitted that one of the chief sources of this Renaissance had sprung in the West,(1) but averse to the West as he was in this period in his characteristic opposition to all things Western, he refused to give Europe the whole credit for it, saying: "It is merely our own old culture that we are getting back; in fact, it is they that ought to be grateful to us for having provided the original inspiration."(2)

In another survey, he threw light on the treatment Muslims gave to non-Muslim communities in their midst, stressing the freedom they enjoyed under their brotherly rule, and the tolerance with which they were permitted to observe their own religion, especially in Egypt.(3) As concerns philology, he wrote on the Arabic language, its history from the pre-Islamic era up to his own day, its Golden Age and its decadence, and expounded the reasons of its development and decay at every stage.(4) He emphasized, time and time again, that the Arabic language was the symbol of Arabism and one of the chief foundations on which Islam rested, and equated its

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(1) Ibid, p.797.
(2) Ibid, p.31; cf. also pp.25-41, 643-662.
(3) Al-Ustadh, pp.73-80.
(4) Ibid, pp.169-184.

surrender to the colloquial idiom or to foreign languages with the surrender of the Arab nationality, personality, character and religion to foreign influence.(1)

As to education, he was yearning for progress in this field, for he realised, as has been mentioned earlier, that the acquisition of knowledge was the only instrument by means of which Egypt could eventually free herself from foreign control, and he urged the nation to follow the Western way to progress, "for real progress cannot be attained but by the methods which Europe has used, and which are all the outcome of education".(2) He was one of the first reformers to recommend the amalgamation of civil and religious education, compulsory education and the provision of educational opportunities for everybody. He also urged, as of yore, the foundation of private schools by the initiative of private societies, the publication of school - and text-books in Arabic, the inclusion of national and general history and sociology in the school curriculum. "Therefore the pupil should be brought up in the knowledge of his own value and in the love of his own race and in the appreciation of his national history."(3) He also insisted that pupils of every religious community should be instructed in their own religion;

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(1) Ibid, p.467-477.
(2) Ibid, pp.202-203.
(3) Ibid, 204-205; Egyptian and Arab history was outside the curriculum of the secondary schools, this subject not being regarded as necessary for the examinations in the so-called "secondary certificate," which alone opened an official career either as a functionary or a school teacher; cf. Rothstein, op.cit., p.321.

he urged that students should devote their leisure to the membership of cultural societies, athletic clubs and libraries; he also encouraged the formation of the habit of reading by the publication of books other than school books, and by general knowledge competitions among readers.(1)

As to manners and behaviour, he pointed to the misinterpretation of the idea of freedom "which is often misunderstood as non-interference in a person's private life"(2) and often stressed that real freedom demanded its rights but observed its duties.(3) He campaigned against wanton and dissolute living on the part of the young, against public drinking, against women displaying their charms in public, mixing with strangers and dancing in close embrace with the other sex in the name of modernisation. "If this is acceptable in Europe, it is not acceptable to us, for every country has its own habits and customs and religious and social conditions. This lack of restrictions and consideration does not suit the character of the Orientals, nor does it agree with the principles of their religion and their customs".(4) He also attacks legalised prostitution and insists that the authorities, if they are unable to abolish it altogether, should at least limit it to places outside the cities.(5)

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(1) Ibid, pp.202-208.
(2) Ibid, p.439.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid, p.439.
(5) Ibid, p.438-441.

In Al-Ustādh, he gave special attention to al-Azhar. Under the title "The 'Ulamā' and Education"(1) he wrote about their strong spiritual and moral influence on the nation, their rôle in history as advisers of Kings and rulers, the severe calamities they suffered in Baghdad and at the hands of the Tatars, and pointed out that this ancient university had virtually become a place of pilgrimage for the world of Islamic culture. He wrote about the history of this ancient university and its important rôle in the history of Egypt; he described the condition of decadence in which it found itself at that time, and the stagnation in its methods of teaching as well as in the disciplines it taught. He criticised the curriculum of the studies and the current methods of examination, the lack of specialisation on the part of the teachers, and finally the isolation of this university, i.e. both its teachers and its students, from the life outside, so that it appeared exterritorial and an anachronism: "a country within the country and a hundred years between them". This caused the 'Ulamā' to commit mistakes in the assessment of the situation when giving advice in any crisis, for they did not understand the life outside.

Not content with mere criticism, Nadīm put forward an elaborate plan of reform for al-Azhar which was the first

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(1) Ibid, pp.603-619.

exhaustive project of this kind. It embraced the curriculum, the methods of teaching and examining, the training of teachers, the length of terms and holidays. As in so many other fields, Nadīm was a pioneer in devising a complete project of a new constitution for this ancient university.(1) Of the rectors of al-Azhar during the nineteenth century, few seem to have been especially inclined towards, or even to have realised the necessity of reform. No ruler ever made any attempt to instil new life into that great institution and any such attempt from within met with strong opposition on the part of the massive body of conservative Sheikhs.(2) Although immediately after the publication of Nadīm's plan of reform the rector of al-Azhar, Shaykh al-Imbābī, changed the method of examination(3) whose deficiencies Nadīm had criticised, and formed a committee to discuss Nadīm's proposals, this attempt did not exceed this preliminary stage. The rest of Nadīm's proposals were shelved for years to come. The extraordinarily sound principles he laid down and the enlightened reforms he suggested might have been expected to revolutionise the old university in his own time. He himself, not being an official member of al-Azhar, never had the opportunity of realising any of his ideas, and it was not until 60 years after it was first

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(1) Cf. Al-Ustādh, pp. 614-619.
(2) 'Alī Mubārak, op. cit., vol. iv, pp. 41-43.
(3) The old rules limited the number of students yearly to be admitted to the examinations for the degree of Shaykh to six in all, regardless of the general number of students. Cf. Al-Ustadh, pp. 612,704.

proposed that a good deal of the project he had devised was put into practice. There is no doubt that it was Nadīm's plan that finally prevailed, for it can hardly be called a coincidence that a great part of Nadīm's plan coincides with the present constitution of al-Azhar.

In the field of religious reform, the most outstanding part of his proposals was outlined in a campaign against the Sufi orders.(1) Sūfism, or rather its corrupt form at Nadīm's time, must be regarded as a period of decadence in the history of Islam. The austere monotheism of Sūfism had become overlaid with a rank growth of superstition and puerile mysticism. Nadīm's campaign was directed against al Turuq al-Sūfiyyah and the deviationist rites brought into existence by mercenary Sūfists and wrongly attributed to Islam. "These orders continued to produce heresies which made the foolish laugh and the wise cry. Their only aim was to satisfy their animal greed which brought shame on the Muslim nations, and made foreigners deride our religion and revile our deeds, for they thought that what these ignorant men said was our religion."(2) Some of the Bida', i.e. the deviationist habits incriminated by Nadīm, were dancing in the streets while exclaiming the name of God, playing pipes, drums and tambourines,

(1) For details cf. Al-Ustādh, pp.786-791.
(2) Al-Ustādh, p.786.

fire-eating, swallowing snakes and glass, annual processions of the Khalīfa and sham miracles. The ignorant masses, decked out in amulets, charms and rosaries, were the gullible prey of fakirs and ecstatic dervishes. Nadīm also attacked the growing custom of pilgrimages to the tombs of so-called "saints" and "intercessors".

Although Nadīm condemned these deviationist habits, he did not denounce Ṣūfism as a doctrine. He admitted that "the religious Ṣūfī idea is among the best of Islamic teaching, and the best training of morals, spirit and character. It is the way of truth and salvation. To be assiduous in piety, to give up everything else for God's sake, to turn one's back on wordly vanities, to renounce pleasure, wealth and power which are the general objects of human ambition, to abandon society and to lead, in seclusion, a life devoted solely to the service of God - these were the fundamental principles of Ṣūfism which prevailed among the Muslims of old time".(1) Nadīm requested Shaykh al-Bakrī, the recognised head of the Ṣūfī orders in the country, to eliminate these unorthodox habits and to summon before him the culprits who, with their heterodox innovations, corrupted the Islamic religion.(2) The Shaykh responded to Nadīm's suggestion, and drew up a

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(1) Ibid, p.787; for more details cf. pp.786-791.
(2) Ibid, p.789.

constitution to reform and reorganise these orders in accordance with the true principles of Islam;[1] he convoked meetings to interrogate the Khulafā (the heads of the Sufi orders) before a committee of 'Ulamā'. It is significant that Nadīm himself conducted the hearings, questioning the Khulafā about the above mentioned accusations of deviationism raised against them and their followers.[2] On these occasions Nadīm gave many a proof of his profound knowledge of religious matters. In the course of these discussions, his superior power of argument convinced them that the incriminating rites and theories were heretical,[3] so that they denied having been concerned in them in order to avoid exclusion from Islam.[4]

NADĪM'S IDEAS ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS.

Nadīm's opinion of women, as expressed in Al-Ustādh and voiced by his favourite characters, is rather conservative and reactionary. He does not admit that men and women are equal. Seen through the eyes of the twentieth century, it is an amazing fact that Nadīm, who assigns so many duties to the wife, never even mentions any duty of the husband towards his wife, except to provide her with food or a roof over her head.

(1) cf. Al-Ustādh, p.838.
(2) Cf. ibid, pp.828-843.
(3) For details cf. Ibid.
(4) Ibid, p.835-836.

Everything over and above that is regarded as a special favour and proof of generosity. Nadīm regards the husband as the absolute master of his wife[1] "for the man is the glory of the woman and the protector of her honour ... without him, the woman is worth neither silver nor copper".[2] Nadīm rules that a woman must not leave the precincts of her home;[3] nor spend money without the explicit permission of her husband.[4] "Moreover, if he sits in the place where you also are, do not sit down in his presence without his leave, and if he talks to you, do not raise your voice in answer".[5] The ideal wife whose description is put in the mouth of one of his leading female characters, Ḥanīfah by name, is one who kisses her husband's hand every morning,[6] and asks his blessing, and begs his forgiveness for whatever mistakes he (himself) may make; "the woman who dutifully observes the principles of her religion will never look at any other man but her husband, nor ever look out of the window of her house or go through the front door of her house without his permission, ... and will never talk to any stranger and never disobey her husband, and never ask him for anything it is not

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(1) Cf. Al-Ustādh, pp.135, 137, 269, 371.
(2) Al-Ustādh, p.227.
(3) Al-Ustādh, p.395.
(4) Ibid, p.396.
(5) Ibid, p.371.
(6) Ibid, p.139.

in his power to grant her".(1) Nadīm deems it a wife's duty to her husband, after the completion of her housework, to adorn herself in expectation of his return.(2) It is his belief that the devotion of a wife to her husband is both a religious duty and a way to his heart.(3)

Nadīm favours the complete seclusion of women. "The wife should shut all the windows of the husband's house", he decrees, "and if there are curtains, they should be drawn; but if she wants to open a window for any reason, she should wrap her arm with a cloth, so that no one should be able to catch a glimpse of it, and should not let anyone see even her shadow ... and if she desires to see anything in the street outside, she should look through the venetian blind ... But if the husband permits her to go out, she must not adorn herself, nor put on her best clothes".(4) The seclusion postulated by Nadīm applies not only to married women, but also to unmarried nubile girls. However, he exhibits more tolerance with regard to girls whom he permits to attend schools under the condition that they do not discard the veil.(5) It appears that Nadīm favours strict seclusion of women first on the grounds of the strong congenital jealousy

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(1) Ibid, pp.249-250.
(2) Ibid, p.301.
(3) Cf. Ibid, pp.305-357.
(4) Cf. Ibid, pp.372-374.
(5) Cf. Ibid, p.246; Islam does not prohibit social relations between the two sexes; it is merely found undesirable for a woman to be alone with a stranger of ill-repute who belongs to the opposite sex with no other member of her family present.

of the Oriental male who cannot bear the thought that a stranger could look at or talk to any woman of his family and secondly, as he inaccurately maintains,because Islam orders the seclusion of women and forbids social intercourse with strangers.(1) There are, however, no postulates or prohibitions of this kind in Islam; seclusion of women can be traced back to a custom which became prevalent in the East in the course of years, and was brought in connection with Islam by unqualified men of religion.

Nadīm contends that social relations between men and women are contrary to Eastern customs and mentality, "for if anyone in our countries catches sight of a stranger talking to his wife, he is liable to kill them both".(2) Besides, he mistrusts women as a whole, for, in his opinion, "woman is like a pigeon: when it grows feathers, it will fly. That is to say that if a woman looks at a stranger, she looks at him the first time, talks to him the next, goes out with him the third, elopes with him at last, and is then no earthly use, 'neither as a drum nor as a tambourin'".(3)

Notwithstanding that, Nadīm, when asked(4) which of the two was more hardworking and tireless while at work, husband or wife, replied that the peasant woman did more work in the

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(1) cf. Al-Ustādh, pp.248,372.
(2) Al-Ustādh, p.248.
(3) Ibid.
(4) The question was put by Zaynab Hānim Fawwāz; for the complete text of question and answer cf. Ibid, pp.114-119 and 159-161.

house and in the fields than her husband, and that the amount of work of the townswomen of the poorer and middle classes equalled that of their husbands; only the wives of the rich city-dwellers "have nothing to do but look after themselves, and their job is merely to paint and adorn themselves".(1) Nadīm concludes that "if upper-class women want to beguile men in order to win equality with them, their reasoning is unacceptable to the minds of the experienced".(2) The fallacy of Nadīm's argument is obvious in this point: if he wants to be just to the female sex, and accepts the amount of work done in life as a criterion of equality between man and woman; if he denies to the woman of the upper classes equal rights with her husband on the grounds of her idleness, why is he not consistent enough to recognise the right to equality of the fellah woman: whose share of the work exceeds that of her husband?

The rest of his views on women is still more reactionary. It seems that he claims for the husband the right to chastise his wife, or literally to throw her out of the conjugal home if she annoys him or commits a mistake; he also holds the threat of divorce over her to enforce faithfulness and obedience.(3) Even if the husband endangers the position and

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(1) Al-Ustādh, p.161.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Al-Ustādh, pp.226-227, 270, 371, 372.

welfare of his family by habits of gambling, drunkenness, addiction to narcotics, adultery or even downright debauchery, his wife has only the right to try to dissuade him from it by way of entreaty and request. This is the language which Nadīm considers proper for a wife to use: "Your wives whom you took in the name of God", he writes in the above mentioned fictitious petition(1) to be submitted by wives to their husbands, "and whom you received from the hands of their fathers in trust in your hands, and whom you are keeping in seclusion to protect your honour and ensure the legitimacy of your children, and whom you forbid to mix with strangers and prevent from meeting and keep respectable to protect your honour which depends on their chastity, they come to you humbly and courteously and with the tongue of submission and respect, requesting the dignity of your manhood to grant them some of what you spend on your pleasure and on the ruin of your minds and honour to keep your children alive .... They also beg you to spend a fraction of your leisure among your children ... and your wives ... In this respect we [the wives] can only beg of your humane gallantry and your connubial ardour and your mercy for these broken wings of your weaker halves and [their] fettered hands and eyes veiled for anything in the world but their husbands".(2)

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(1) For the complete text of the petition cf. Ibid, p.229-231.
(2) Al-Ustādh, p.229-231.

When Nadīm allows the girl to partake of education, he limits it to instruction in reading and writing - to enable women to read the holy Qur'ān and religious books - and to domestic science to make them good housewives. Though he is emphatic on the necessity of teaching boys foreign languages as a means of communication with the outside world, without which there could be no absorption of Western scientific and industrial methods, and consequently no progress, he disapproves of girls learning these foreign languages. They can be of no use to her, he argues, debarred from the contact with the outside world as she is, for she will not marry a foreigner, and "is not going to travel to Europe, or work as a translator".(1) In short, he believes that the teaching of foreign languages to girls is "only blind imitation of foreigners, to Europeanise girls as one of the ways of modernisation".(2)

In Nadīm's opinion, for a woman to visit a theatre or go to dance is detrimental to her honour and her dignity. He even disapproves of the study of music by women. It may be relevant to mention the strange arguments he proffers against it, as expressed by one of his favourite characters: music, he says, merely arouses the passion of love in women, but strangely enough, Nadīm, though a poet, does not concede them the right to experience love at all. "For the woman, if she falls

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(1) Al-Ustādh, p.247.
(2) Ibid.

in love, will not fall in love with her husband who is with her all the time, since, if human beings possess something, they lose interest in it. Thus, if she falls in love, she will love ... a stranger, and bring shame upon the family."(1)

Such is Nadīm's opinion of women which cannot be called progressive by any standards, especially from the viewpoint of the twentieth century. However, considered against the background of his own time and environment, it will appear less strange. Nadīm lived before the emancipation of women in Egypt, at a time when most women believed that their dignity was best served by strict seclusion. In this, Nadīm only interprets the opinion of the vast majority of compatriots of his own day and age, men as well as women. Nadīm had no share in the initiation of the women's emancipation movement which began under the leadership of Qāsim Amīn,(2) (1865-1908), a mere decade after the publication of the above series of articles.

It is no wonder, in view of his opinions of women, their rôle and their position in society, that Nadīm mentioned neither his wives nor his mother in his writings. However, women's problems by no means escaped his attention, and he dealt with them in his rather reactionary way. Two series of his

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(1) Ibid, p.248.
(2) He was the public prosecutor who conducted Nadīm's interrogation after his arrest; for more details about Qāsim Amīn and his movement cf. Zaydān, Mashāhīr, vol.i, pp.355-347.

newspaper were devoted to them, and when, later, exigencies of the situation claimed all the space available in the paper for political questions, many women wrote to Nadīm demanding "the foundation of a special paper exclusively intended for women and their problems, and its subject ... should be how to bring up children ... pointing out the advantages and disadvantages of the old methods of dealing with children ... and the duties of a woman to her husband and her children, and the rights of a woman in the relationship with her husband and her children ... and so on about women's problems. It should also contain stories to be told by mothers to their children, which would aim to impart knowledge to the children and to divert their minds from the harmful superstitions with which they are fed by domestics. But they also demand that it should be written in the language of women and children".(1)

The reasons proffered to motivate this demand were that Al-Ustādh, having discontinued publication in the colloquial idiom on February 28th, 1893, had limited itself to the use of intellectuals only, thus becoming inaccessible to women; that a paper written in colloquial language would facilitate the acquisition of knowledge by women, and give this knowledge more appeal; finally, that women who improved their education thanks to this paper, would be encouraged to learn the correct language.(2)

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(1) Al-Ustādh, 804-805.
(2) Cf. Ibid.

Actuated by these motives, Nadīm planned to grant this request by founding a weekly paper called Al-Murabbī,(1) but, unfortunately, Nadīm's time in the country was running to a close, and the project never materialised.

NADĪM'S SECOND EXILE AND DEATH.

When the decision that Nadīm must leave the country had been definitely and irrevocably sanctioned by the Khedive, Nadīm chose for his residence the same place in which he had found congenial company and general admiration during his first exile in Palestine, namely Jaffa. He left Egypt by the middle of June, 1893.

In Jaffa, he took up the threads of his previous stay there. The 'Ulamā', men of letters and intellectuals of the city flocked to welcome him, and filled his literary circles. As could only be expected of gatherings at which a fiery mind like Nadīm presided over representatives of an oppressed country(2) like Palestine, the discussion could not be confined to criticisms of the British occupation in Egypt, but went to the length of discussing the despotism of the Sultan and the weakness with which he had disappointed Egypt in her expectations of help against Britain.(3) However, the Sultan's spies, who

(1) The weekly was to have consisted of 16 pages, at a subscription rate of 50 piastres a year; the medical section was to be edited under the supervision of doctors; cf. pp.804-805.
(2) It was then a province of the Turkish Empire.
(3) Cf. Amīn, Zu'amā', pp.244-245.

were ubiquitous, soon informed him of Nadīm's activity in Jaffa. Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II, averse to any attempt at a free exchange of opinion, was startled by the effect Nadīm's activity had on the minds of the Palestinians. Within four months of his arrival, Nadīm had been expelled from Jaffa and any territory under Turkish rule.(1) He was thus made homeless; his fate was reminiscent of that of his predecessor Jamāl al-Dīn after his deportation from Egypt in 1879.

Under the Sultan's deportation order, Nadīm was put on board a ship bound for Egypt, where he was naturally refused permission to stay. On his arrival in Alexandria, however, he was met by the Turkish High Commissioner al-Ghāzī Mukhtār Pasha who persuaded him to go to Constantinople.

It was the policy of Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II to induce every popular leader who seemed dangerous to him to come to the capital, to provide him generously with lavish funds and a high position, but to keep him under the strictest supervision, to control all his movements in order to prevent him from forming any contact outside the capital and from developing any activity inside it. Thus he had concentrated in Constantinople many political leaders, writers, orators, freedom-fighters from all over the Turkish Empire who lived there in semi-captivity. Al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī had been persuaded to enter

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(1) Taymūr, op. cit., pp.26-27; Amīn, Zu'amā', pp.244-245; Samīr, op. cit., p.17; Zaydan, Mashahīr, vol.2, pp.110-111.

the cage a year before Nadīm. He was given a mansion and emoluments, £75 a month, a carriage and servants, but was surrounded by agents who reported each of his movements to the Sultan.(1) Nadīm joined his old mentor in his captivity soon afterwards. There was, however, a difference in their position: "Jamāl al-Dīn's cage, though gilded, was narrow; Nadīm's was plain iron, but afforded more space."(2) Nadīm was appointed Inspector of Printed Matter in Constantinople, and given a house and a salary of £45 a month.(3) Presumably, Jamāl al-Dīn was given preferential treatment on the grounds of his more important status in international politics, Jamāl al-Dīn's influence was not confined to one nation only, but extended over all Muslim territories and all countries of the East, while Nadīm's influence was more or less limited to Egypt, Syria and Palestine. Moreover, Nadīm was the enemy of both the Sultan and England, a homeless expatriate in need of a refuge and, for all these reasons, a person of lesser political importance than Jamāl al-Dīn in the eyes of the Sultan.

It seems almost a paradox that Nadīm, who had so strongly resented the censor's interference when he was a journalist,

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(1) Cf. Amīn, Zu'amā', pp.99, 245; Riḍā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh, vol.1, pp.88, 89, 90.
(2) Amīn Zu'amā', p.245.
(3) Samīr, Op.Cit. p.17; Taymūr, Op. Cit. p.27; Amīn, Zu'ama', p.245.

should ever have accepted a position which entailed the exercise of censorship of printed matter. The Turkish press was at that time even more heavily censored than the Egyptian press, and it seems, on the face of it, inconceivable that Nadīm who had, all through his life, advocated freedom of thought and even disregarded the postulates of the official Press Act, should have found it in him to undertake the task of restricting the freedom of thought of others. The answer is that - according to the Sultan's policy with regard to all the expatriates whom he had lured to Turkey under similar circumstances - the post of Inspector of Printed Matter was purely nominal and was intended as a sinecure, merely entitling a formerly important person to draw a salary on which he could subsist without being regarded as a sponger.(1)

Nadīm must have felt the boredom of life in enforced idleness. His tongue had been silenced, his pen was dry, all the wonderful gifts nature had bestowed on him lay waste; there was no chance of transmitting to the public, as he was wont, what he could not help observing and feeling in the contact with an entirely new environment. He had rebelled against the tyranny of Turkish rule in Egypt; now he was living in a country in which the despotism of the Sultan was incomparably more oppressive. Nadīm, the freedom-loving pioneer of

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(1) Cf. Amīn, Zu'amā', p.246.

democracy, must have been in agony when he realised that he was not even permitted to express his sympathy with the oppressed whom he had always regarded as brothers, and who had the same claim to his affections as his own countrymen, for he had always insisted that the Eastern world was an integral whole, and always stressed the need for solidarity against infiltration and domination by the West. The only way to give vent to his feelings was the private exchange of opinions with his old friend and mentor, Jamāl al Dīn, who suffered equally under the restrictions. They became constant companions and drew much closer together than at any time before in their lives. The ties between them were manifold; there was the former relationship of mentor and disciple, there was the same long struggle in the service of the cause of liberty; there was the same fate which had led to exile and to expulsion from one country after the other, and finally the intolerable restriction of personal freedom and the insufferable enforced inactivity on Turkish soil. Their friendship became so intimate that they were almost inseparable:(1) Nadīm used to attend the circle, called al-Jalwah,(2) held by Jamāl al Dīn, which frequently assembled at the latter's mansion and was attended by dignitaries and notables as well as by disciples.

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(1) Samīr, op. cit. p.17.
(2) For details cf. Muḥammad Pasha al-Makhzūmī, Khāṭirāt Jamāl al-Dīn, Beirut 1931, pp.129-248.

"They [Jamāl al-Dīn and Nadīm] could not bear to be apart from each other, and neither of them could enjoy a meeting if they were not there together."(1) But even in the relative privacy of this circle Jamāl al-Dīn and Nadīm were aware of the presence of the Sultan's spies and had to tread warily, avoiding political matters.

Under these circumstances it is obvious that Nadīm could not remain neutral in the well-known conflict between his friend Jamāl al-Dīn and Abū al-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī,(2) a conflict which broke out soon after Nadīm's arrival in Turkey. It was Abū al-Hudā's ambition to become the Shaykh of Islam which was preposterous in view of his complete lack of qualifications in Islamic science. His power sprang from the personal hold he had on the Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II - much has been said about this influence - and there was no one at court, high or low, who did not dread his power and did not pay him homage. Many a time the Sultan's orders were countermanded by him and superseded by his own.(3) Abū al-Hudā was

(1) Samīr, op.cit., p.17; cf. also Zaydān, Mashāhir, vol.ii,p.111.
(2) Abū al-Hudā was a strange and controversial personality. He dominated Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamid II by pretending that he could protect his throne or dethrone him at will. He also pretended that, as a Ṣūfī, he was capable of communicating with the Prophet, of healing disease and predicting the future. He was a highly intelligent man and the news with which he was supplied by numerous agents enabled him to cope with every emergency. He was considered the uncrowned Sultan of Turkey; for more details about Abu al-Huda cf. Amin, Zuʿama', p.247-248; Sami al-Kayyali, al-Kitab, vol.iv, pp.699-707; Yakan, op.cit. vol.i, pp.90-104
(3) For further details cf. Amin, Zuʿama', p.247-248; Yakan, op.cit., pp.90-104; al-Makhzumi, Op.Cit., p.109, 122-131; Rida, Tārikh al-Ustadh, vol.i, pp.73,85,88,90,581,796,912, 913, 981, 1011,1015; Rida, al-Manar, vol.xii, p.3; Sami al-Kayyali, op.cit., p.704-707.

a typical reactionary, opposed to freedom movements in general, and the enemy of any freedom loving person in particular. He feared Jamāl al-dīn's personal integrity, wisdom and knowledge, and saw in him his natural adversary; he also seems to have been frightened by the fact that the Sultan set store by Jamāl al-Dīn's advice. Thus two camps developed at the Sultan's court: Abū al-Hudā, the reactionary surrounded by his spies and toadies, and Jamāl al-Dīn with his puritan outlook and progressive thought. As a matter of course, 'Abd Allāh Nadīm took sides with Jamāl al-Dīn and openly declared his enmity against Abū al-Hudā. "When the deceased al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn and 'Abd Allāh Nadīm were alive, they used to bait him [Abū al-Hudā] until his eyes bulged. They caused him sleepless nights, they doubled his distress and increased his grief. One could but hear him groaning and wailing continuously, and he knocked at the Sultan's door with complaint after complaint".(1) In fact, Abū al-Hudā feared Nadīm more than Jamāl al-Dīn himself, for he knew that Nadīm had a quick and sharp tongue, was proficient in the art of repartee and excelled in satire. Moreover, his hatred of Nadīm exceeded his hatred of Jamāl al-Dīn, for Nadīm was an Egyptian, and "twenty-one Egyptian 'Ulamā' had proclaimed in a Fatwa that Abū al-Hudā was a Zindīq, a heretic and an infidel and a sanctimonious hypocrite, and he

(1) Yakan, Op. Cit., p.176.

had been, since then, prepared to go to any length to harm Egypt and the Egyptians. He cast aspersions on any Egyptian before the Sultan with deceit and fraud".(1) Nadīm, vexed and frustrated, may have found in this dispute an outlet for his repressed feelings; he enjoyed exposing Abu al-Hudā's intrigues, his fabricated reports to the Sultan, his wilful misuse of religion, his false claims to be descended from the Prophet and to be a saint, and covered Abū al-Hudā with ridicule in the eyes of the public, bestowing on him the nickname of Abu al-Ḍalāl (the father of error(2).) Abū al-Hudā molested the Sultan to lend him his support against Nadīm. After a complaint on his part, "Nadīm was summoned to the Sultan's palace, and requested to stop satirising Abū al-Hudā. The Sultan was watching the scene from a secret window when Nadīm, in a burst of anger, shouted at the top of his voice: 'Our Lord the Sultan has awarded to Abūd al-Ḍalāl the laurels of vanity, but I am going to decorate him with the medal of shame which will adhere to him all his life and even accompany him to his doom'. The courtiers were all dumbfounded on hearing Nadīm's threat and soothed his anger, but only succeeded after long and hard endeavour."(3)

However, Nadīm fulfilled his threat in writing the satire

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(1) Ibrāhīm al-Muwaylihī, Mā Hunālik, (Cairo 1896) p.221.
(2) As opposed to his real name, Abū al-Hudā (the father of guidance).
(3) Yakan, Op. Cit., vol.1, p.177.

Al-Masāmīr (The Nails) which is a novelty in Arabic literature. It is reminiscent, in its form, of the Maqāmāt and even more reminiscent of Risālat al-Tawābī' wa al-Zawābi', of Ibn Shuhayd of Andalusia (382-426 A.H.).(1) The narrator is the itinerant Shaykh Abū al-Qāsim whose travels are related by a certain Sharīf Abū Hāshim. Abū al-Qāsim's stories tell of the encounters between Abū al-Hudā and Iblīs (Satan) who suffers the only defeat in the long history of his activities among humans in which he is dethroned by a being more vicious and evil than he himself, namely Abū al-Hudā. The first volume of the book was to have consisted of nine stories, each conceived as a "nail" driven into Abū al-Hudā's coffin. Al-Masāmīr was never completed, and only the first volume has been preserved. Although its language is, probably, more violent and abusive than of any other work in the history of Arabic literature, for Nadīm accuses Abū al-Hudā and his parents of every violation of human laws and every imaginable vice and depravity under the sun, the book is significant in that it contains, interspersed between the satirical parts, some very interesting theological reflexions which are put into the mouth of Satan. It is also, in spite of the torrent of invective, a masterpiece of the artistic (Badī') style, especially al-Iqtibās (epigraph) from the Qur'ān, al-Jinās

(1) For details about Ibn Shuhayd cf. al-Iskandarī, al-Mufaṣṣal vol.ii, pp.154-158.

(paronomasia) and al-Ṭibāq (antithesis) which prove how well he could cope with the exigencies of this kind of rhymed prose without becoming artificial. The book is also remarkable in that it is the first Arabic book to contain illustrations, more exactly caricatures, by two artists whose names, to judge by the signatures under the drawings, were 'J. Okem' and 'B. Ṣābūnjī'; the lithographer was Salīm Fāḍil.

When Abū al-Hudā heard from his agents of Al-Masāmīr, "he was inflamed with terrible wrath and roared like an angry bull".(1) He was not slow to take action, and put all his scheming power to use to intercept the book. He made the Sultan believe that the satire was also directed against him. The latter, who had an immensely suspicious mind, immediately ordered Nadīm's house to be searched and all his books and manuscripts to be confiscated. However, there was no trace of the main object of the search, for Al-Masāmīr had been smuggled out of Turkey by George Qūdshī(2) who had fled to Egypt to have it printed and sent to all the prominent people in the Turkish Empire.(3)

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(1) Yakan, vol.1 Op.Cit. p.177.
(2) A Rumanian of Greek descent; he was an administrative officer at the Law School in Egypt. He corresponded with Jamal al-Din and later became his inseparable companion. I have the story from a Rashid Rustum, who used to know George Qudshi when he was a child and saw him for the last time in 1913. cf. also Rida, Tarikh al-Ustadh, vol.1, p.92.
(3) Amin, Zu'ama', p.248.

Nadīm, Jamāl al-Dīn and 'Izzat al-'Ābid acted as Ambassadors of the Khedive 'Abbās at the Sultan's court.(1) Their main task was to improve the relations between the Khedive and the Sultan, and to obtain the help of the latter in the struggle against England. Nadīm also conducted negotiations between Yildiz Kiosk (the Sultan's palace) and the Khedive to conclude a marriage between 'Abbās II and one of the Sultan's daughters: "He would have nearly succeeded in his negotiations if it had not been for intrigues of one of his enemies [Abū al-Hudā] at Constantinople."(2) When the Khedive 'Abbās visited Constantinople in 1894, his former favourite Nadīm found himself as a matter of course in his entourage. "He was pleased to meet Nadīm and eager to listen to his witticisms and brilliant conversation."(3) Abū al-Hudā, however, who was always on the alert and very shrewdly and skilfully managed to defeat every enterprise of the opposite camp, resorted to a cunning stratagem. He claimed that the Khedive 'Abbās II had met Jamāl al-Dīn through the

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(1) Yakan, op.cit., vol.1, p.25.
(2) Yakan, op.cit., vol.1, pp.30, 114; Abū al-Hudā convinced the Sultan that if this marriage took place, and there was a son of this marriage, the child would be a trump card in the hands of Britain who, with the support of the Muslim countries under her influence, would proclaim him the Caliph of all Muslims. Cf. Ibid, p.113, 114; Shafiq, op.cit., vol.ii, p.156.
(3) Samīr, op.cit., p.18.

intermediary of ʿAbd Allāh Nadīm under a tree of the Kaghikhana garden and both Nadīm and Jamāl al-Dīn had promised him to propagate the plan of a new Caliphate with Egypt as the centre. The Sultan received the report with his usual gullibility, and this resulted in the well-known crisis between the Sultan and the Khedive on the one hand, and the Sultan and Jamāl al-Dīn, and of course Nadīm, on the other. Jamāl al-Dīn, however, succeeded in dispelling the cloud at his first meeting with the Sultan.(1)

Nadīm, whose dearest wish it was to return home and spend his old age in his mother country, asked the Khedive, during the latter's visit to Constantinople in 1895, for permission to accompany him to Egypt. The permission was granted,(2) but the intrigues of Abū al-Hudā were quicker than the Khedivial boat which was carrying ʿAbd Allāh Nadīm to Egyptian shores. The ever gullible Sultan was led to believe that the plot aiming to set up a new Khalifate in

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(1) For details of the crisis cf. al-Makhzūmī, op.cit., 122-131; Riḍā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh, vol.1, pp. 88-89.

(2) Blunt, My Diaries, vol.1, p.256.

Cairo, which was supposed to have been hatched by the Khedive, Jamāl al-Dīn and Nadīm a year before, had now begun to materialise and that Nadīm, its chief propagandist, had already left Turkey without permission. The Sultan immediately issued an order for the boat to be stopped in the Dardanelle straits and Nadīm to be taken off it, pending his deportation to some remote place. When the order was implemented, Nadīm was highly indignant and sent a telegram to the Sultan, "denying the allegations of the slanderer, and concluding by saying: "You are the Amīr al Mu'minīn [the Caliph] who has the power to punish without contradiction or opposition, but we shall all be equals when we are brought before God the Just and Almighty who will judge between us and be an unfailing judge". (1) When the Sultan received the telegram, he marvelled at Nadīm's courage and admired his dignity. "He therefore cancelled his previous order and forgave him with a gracious blessing". (2)

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(1) Samīr, op.cit., p.18.
(2) Ibid.

Nadīm was brought back to Constantinople, and had to forsake all hope of a return to Egypt.

However, an enemy stronger than Abū al-Hudā arose against Nadīm, against whom he could neither fight nor protect himself, whose savage attack was only noticed when he finally laid his hands on him. This enemy was consumption. When it was discovered, it was too late to try to counteract it, for Nadīm's chest had nearly fallen to pieces under its severe onslaught. The doctors who were consulted, but found him past any help, recommended a change of residence, and so Nadīm went to stay with one of his friends, al-Sayyid 'Abd al-Raḥmān al Jazūlī.(1) His mother and brother were summoned from Cairo to his bedside,(2) but he died before they arrived.(3) Nadīm died, at the age of nearly fifty-one "on the eve of Sunday, October 10th, 1896

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(1) Ibid.
(2) Ibid, p.19.
(3) When they arrived at his house, they found it empty, for all the valuables he had received from the Sultan, and all his other property had been seized. There was no sign of any books or manuscripts, and every stick of furniture had gone. "All they found was bare walls;" cf. Samīr, op.cit., p.19.

(4th Jumādā I, 1314 A.H.)[1]

As soon as the Sultan received the news of Nadīm's death "he issued the order to give him an official burial. Two detachments of the army, one police detachment followed by the pupils of the Sultanic School, all the notables, dignitaries and 'Ulamā' headed by his faithful friends, al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Shaykh Muḥammad Ẓāfir, the Sultan's Imām, al-Sayyīd 'Abd al Raḥman al-Jazūlī and many others preceded his coffin on its way to the cemetery of Yaḥyā Effendi in Beshktash, where his body was buried".[2] Thus "the Orator of the East" was silenced forever, the indefatigable worker was finally laid to rest.

His body remained in Constantinople, but perhaps it was granted to his soul, freed from its earthly fetters, to fulfil its desire and wander back to Egypt to listen to the voice of Nadīm resuscitated in the person of his favourite disciple and spiritual heir, Muṣṭafā Kāmil, and to be comforted by the survival of his own famous principle "Egypt for the Egyptians".

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(1) Ibid; Taymūr, op.cit., p.27; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, Vol.ii, p.111.
(2) Samīr, op.cit., p.18; cf. also Zaydān, Mashāhīr, vol.ii, p.111.

CONTROVERSIAL ASPECTS OF NADĪM'S CHARACTER

From a number of more or less relevant incidents in Nadīm's life, it must be inferred that he sometimes lacked consistency. It can by no means be maintained that this inconsistency was a permanent feature of his character, a constant failing observable all through his life, but it is undeniable that, like all great men, he had his virtues and his defects. The spuriousness of his claim to be descended from the Prophet Muḥammad through the great Imām Idrīsī cannot be denied, and yet he insisted on its truth to the extent of having his geneahogical tree brought to the mosque and read out in public on the occasion of his father's death. It is borne out by the fact that he put forward no open claim to this parentage until he reappeared, after his retreat, in the dress of a Sharīf, and prefixed the word Sayyid to his name. There are many reasons to doubt the validity of this claim which, more likely than not, was deprived of any real foundation:

1 - It is customary for a poor descendant of the Prophet to draw a monthly allowance from the Waqf of the Ashrāf's union to prevent his doing manual or low-class work; Nadīm's father never drew or even claimed such allowance, but earned his livelihood first as a carpenter in the Alexandria dockyard and then as a baker, which are both considered, in Egypt, as low-class occupations; 2 - Nadīm was the only member of his

family to be referred to as Sayyid by his contemporaries; his brother continued to wear European clothes and call himself 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Effendi, even after Nadīm had laid claim to the title of Sharīf, and has never been reported as having made this claim for himself; 3 - most contemporary historians have expressed doubts concerning the validity of his claim;(1) 4 - Nadīm himself was always, even at the height of his career, when he was one of the leaders of the revolution, referred to in press, public life and official documents, merely as "Effendi" and not as Sayyid; 5 - 'Abd Allāh Nadīm's features bear no resemblance whatever to the famous physiognomy of the Idrīsīs which has remained more or less the same for many centuries:(2) 6 - if Nadīm had been a Sharīf like, for instance, Jamāl al-Dīn, he would never have written the obscene parts of Al-Masāmīr which was quite incompatible with the dignity of a Sharīf. It is reported that when Nadīm himself urged Jamāl al-Dīn to hit back at 'Abū al-Hudā by complaining of him to the Sultan, Jamāl al-Dīn's answer was: "I am a Sharīf, I never air my grievances".(3) 7 - Finally, in the official records containing the names and genealogical trees of all Ashrāf, especially the Idrīsīs, kept in evidence at the head office of the Ashrāf's Union in Cairo, there is no trace of Nadīm's name.(4)

(1) cf. Taymūr, Op. Cit., p.17; Yakan, op.cit., Vol. 1, p.28.
(2) Al-'Aqqad, my conversation with op. cit.
(3) Muḥammad Pasha al-Makhzūmī, op. cit., pp. 129-130.
(4) This information is derived from a letter from Rashid Rustum who undertook special investigations on my behalf.

In fact, to claim descent from the Prophet was the fashion among the men of letters of that time. 'Alī Abū al-Naṣr, 'Alī Yūsuf, Shaykh Abū al-Faraj al-Damanhūrī and others are known to have claimed the title which conferred upon its possessor a number of tangible material benefits. First, to be descended from the Prophet entailed freedom from National Service; secondly, the only title to respect in the eyes of the Turkish masters for whom the bulk of the population was of little account and regarded as little more than serfs was to be rich, a Shaykh or a Sharīf. Wealth was, obviously, not within everybody's reach; the degree of a Shaykh could only be attained by means of examinations, and the studies leading to it were long and arduous; it was far easier to become a person of importance by claiming descent from the Prophet. Thirdly, it was a way of securing free food, money and entertainment, for people all through the country considered it an honour to entertain a Sharīf and virtually begged him to accept their gifts to obtain God's blessing. Thus it was small wonder, that so many ambitious men of letters laid claim to this illustrious descent, even if it had no foundation.

The history of Nadīm's own claim to the title of Sharīf is somewhat more complicated. When he lived in retreat, forced to disguise his identity, he found that to assume the outward appearance of a Sharīf brought welcome protection

from danger. As circumstances proved, however, it also brought honours, respect and certain material advantages he may have found it difficult to dispense with when he returned to freedom. After the amnesty, or at least in the first few months after it, Nadīm, who had ceased to be a leading figure in public life, was deprived of the glory in which he had basked during the heyday of the national movement. Ambitious as he was, he could not bear to be disregarded and neglected, and thus held fast to the rôle of Sharīf which he had first assumed only for the sake of convenience.

It is more than likely that Nadīm was conscious of the spuriousness of his claim and perhaps that is why he always stressed it in his writings, trying to impress the fact on his readers.(1) Whatever the moral aspect of the case, Nadīm was a true son of his age, with all its virtues and vices; thus he acted like so many other contemporary men of letters who, for want of wealth, social status or academic degrees, tried to enhance their position by falsely claiming the title of Sharīf.

Nor was Nadīm consistent in his attitude towards Riyāḍ who was in power in Egypt during the most part of Nadīm's public life. In Al-Tankīt, Nadīm has praise for Riyāḍ for the help he received from him in matters of the Islamic society; later, after the days of 'Ābdīn, Riyāḍ's dictatorship became one of the main targets of Nadīm's attack.

(1) Cf. Al-Ustādh, pp. 87, 140, 272, 316, 318, 321, 553, 829

Subsequently, he retaliated on Riyāḍ for having threatened him with exile for his public speeches and his activity in the Islamic society, by satirising him in his book Tārīkh Miṣr (the third volume of Kān wa Yakūn) in which he represented him as the enemy of the national movement, and the butcher of the defeated nationalists. In the first volume of Kān wa Yakūn which falls into the same period, Riyāḍ is praised as most helpful in matters of the Islamic society, and a most efficient Prime Minister; stranger still, Nadīm even published later some poetry in Al-Ustādh, eulogising Riyāḍ on the occasion of his son's wedding, and even presented to the Prime Minister the above mentioned Tahni'ah Saniyyah, bil Afrāḥ al-Riyāḍiyyah, a collection of poems composed for this occasion. It is hard to justify this inconsistency, for Riyāḍ did not change all his life: he remained a dictator and a tool in foreign hands and only showed sympathy to the nationalists for a few months in 1893 for personal reasons. The only rational explanation of Nadīm's inconsistency may be his desire to placate the anger of the all-powerful ruler which threatened him with exile from the country.

His attitude towards the ruling dynasty is also far from consistent. While the national movement lasted, Nadīm's professed opinion of Ismā'īl and Tawfīq was frankly inimical; after his return to freedom in 1891, however, he

eulogised Tawfīq and even shed tears when he died. Also Ismā'īl, whom he had branded, in Al-Tā'if, as the butcher of Egypt and the slave of his own pleasures, was later extolled in Al-Ustādh as the father of Egyptian education. The kindness which Tawfīq manifested towards him after his arrest may have inspired him with gratitude and caused a change of mind, he may also have wanted, by praising the father, to propitiate the son, Khedive 'Abbās II, with a view to personal amnesty. As regards Ismā'īl, however, it was clearly the choice between two evils: in the controversy with al-Muqattam he was so reluctant to give the credit for the modernisation and education of the country to the British that he preferred to attribute the merit to Ismā'īl.

At the time of his retreat, when dealing with the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī, Nadīm praised him as a ruler of Egypt, but blamed his successors for having wrecked the country. In Al-Ustādh, however, he brazenly claimed to have composed eulogies on Muḥammad 'Alī and his successors, and re-wrote the Qaṣīdah, simply changing praise to blame, but maintaining its outward form, rhyme and metre.

While Nadīm was propagating the introduction of constitutional life on the lines of the English party system,(1) and opposed tyranny and oppression as represented by Eastern

(1) Al-Ustādh, pp.457-467.

autocrats, he demanded, simultaneously, that all the power in the country should be placed in the hands of his friend and sponsor, 'Abbās II, an attitude which is, to say the least, decidedly self-contradictory.

Stubborn in his denial that the British also deserved some credit for the progress in the country, he persisted in attributing all the progress to Muḥammad 'Alī and his descendants, and all the ruin and decay to the British, in blatant contradiction of the fact that it was Ismā'īl who had brought about the economic and moral ruin of Egypt and that it was the British who, whatever their motives, had considerably improved both its administration and economy.(1) What is more, Nadīm himself explicitly admitted elsewhere that conditions in the East had improved due to the beneficial influence of the West.

Finally, it has been maintained that the sum of £25 monthly allotted to him by the Egyptian government, in June 1893, on condition that he kept silent on Egyptian affairs for the rest of his life was not a grant, but a bribe, by which he was induced to abandon his nationalist activities.(2) To do him justice, however, it must be stressed that if he had attached more importance to money than to his political convictions, he would have accepted, after his return from

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(1) Ibid, p.220.
(2) Hartmann, op. cit., pp.22-23; The Times 21.6.1893

exile in 1892, Lord Cromer's offer of collaboration with the occupation which was coupled with the promise of a large salary and an influential high ranking position in the country. Furthermore, he by no means desisted from his political activities, but resumed them as soon as he set foot on Palestinian soil, not only continuing in his opposition against the British, but extending it to the Sultan himself, while the grant continued to be paid to him due to the influence of his friend 'Abbās II.

CHAPTER VI

NADĪM'S PLACE IN ARABIC LITERATURE.

The Egyptian Literary Renaissance.

'Abd Allāh Nadīm, a self-taught man with little regular schooling all of which he had received at Jāmi' al-Shaykh in Alexandria in his early days, was not blind to his relative lack of education which had to be overcome if he wanted to be a man of letters. Thus he seized every opportunity that presented itself of adding to his store of knowledge. He attended free lectures in al-Azhar, read books with his friends and participated in the discussions in Jamāl al-Dīn's Salon. The period of life most fruitful in this respect were the years spent in retreat, when he had more opportunity to read and think and write than at any time before in his life. Therefore he went through several stages of development not only in his political and social activity, but also in his education. Inevitably, his literary production is the faithful mirror of each of these stages. These stages, which even involved a repeated

radical change of outlook, must of necessity be reflected in his literary output. Thus his earlier prose differs to a great extent from his later writings, and the change was for the better.

To assess Nadīm's status as a man of letters, it is impossible to disregard the literary world of his age, not to acknowledge the potent and conflicting trends and currents of the time, not to consider the numerous and diverse factors which of necessity contributed to the evolution and consolidation of this, though somewhat controversial, yet immensely interesting and colourful literary figure.

Nadīm's life coincides with the emergence of the so-called Renaissance of Arabic thought and literature. As Nadīm played a leading and at moments decisive part in the Renaissance, it will be both suitable and informative to throw a certain light on the origins and development of this movement.

Egypt had suffered from the miseries of misrule, intrigues and internecine strife from 1517, when it was annexed to the Ottoman Empire. The debased remnants of the Mamelukes, who were entrusted with the administration of the country, led their career of intrigues and licentious pursuits unchecked. The vicious influence of the low

morals of these later slave chiefs of real slave mentality was reflected in the general depravity of the people. Thus life, property and honour were unsafe, and peace and tranquillity which are essential for intellectual development and literary growth were unknown.(1)

Long and continued subjugation to chiefs of base morals and mentality had damped the spirit and degraded the mental and moral instincts of the people. Neglect of education was responsible for widespread ignorance and illiteracy. The natural result was that all sorts of superstitions, sorcery and soothsaying became rampant.(2) The true spirit of Islam, which was the religion of the vast majority, became obscured. The growth of Ṣūfī ideas with the multiplicity of the orders of saints, instead of improving the situation, had still more obscured the real virtues of Islam which lie in its harmonious blend of the spiritual and the material aspects of human life.

What added to the hardships of Turkish rule and precipitated Egypt into the abyss of ignorance was that she was robbed by her Turkish oppressors of her precious heritage of Arabian civilisation. The Turks despoiled the Egyptian libraries of the majority of their valuable books, and deported or lured away large numbers of Egyptian 'Ulamā',

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1. Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol. III, p.272; Ahmad Amīn and Zakī Najīb Mahmūd, Qiṣṣat al-'Adab fī al-'Ālam (Cairo 1948) Vol. III, pp.277-280.
2. Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol. III, p.273

librarians, artists and craftsmen in order to make Constantinople the centre of Islamic culture.(1) They also seized the donations destined for Egyptian cultural purposes such as those of the University of al-Azhar and other mosque schools. Cultural life in the country ceased almost completely; only a tiny light was kept burning at al-Azhar and sent out faint rays.(2) The deplorable cultural conditions were reflected in the curriculum of al-Azhar which was entirely medieval. Dogmatic theology was by far the most important subject; language and jurisprudence, which were also studied, were regarded as ancillaries to theology; the sciences taught there, i.e. mathematics, astronomy and physics, were on the same level; the philosophic work of the great Muslim philosophers, such as al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and al-Ghazzālī who were greatly admired by Europeans, was no longer studied at that ancient fount of knowledge. The Arabic language itself had suffered a great calamity, for it had been eliminated as the official language and replaced by Turkish; moreover, the ruling and wealthy classes, who usually patronise literature, were no longer Arabs, but Turks who at least in the first period of

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1. Their number was assessed at 1,800, but unfortunately many of the boats carrying them sank on the way. Cf. 'Umar, al-Dusūqī, Fī al-Adab al-Ḥadīth (Cairo 1954), vol. i, p.11; cf. also Shawqī Dayf, al-Adab al-'Arabī al-Mu'āṣir fī Miṣr, (Cairo 1957) pp.1-2, 9-10.
2. Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol. IV, p.7.

their empire had no love for Arabic which they did not understand. Thus most men of letters emigrated to the provinces where they devoted themselves to the composition of popular songs for the fellah dignitaries who were still able to appreciate them.(1) The standard of classical Arabic literature was incredibly low, and an era of decadence ensued. Men with a gift for literature, deprived of models worthy of imitation and of teachers to guide them, became alien to real classical Arabic; their taste degenerated, and they fell into aberrations, indulging in an excess of ornamentation and exaggerated Badī' style.(2) "To hide the defects of their composition they exaggerated verbose ornaments until their meaning was obscured. What they composed was meagre and clumsy, and what bore the mark of superior taste was purloined from their predecessors."(3) The lack of inventiveness revealed itself particularly in the field of belles lettres, for this suffered considerably from the divorce between the written and the spoken language; especially detrimental was the view held by the contemporary men of letters that the subject matter of literature was common property and that artistry could be displayed only in the wording; according to this opinion, to improve upon

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1. See MSS. of the Dīwāns of Aḥmad al-'Ināyātī, Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nāblusī and Muṣṭafā al-Bābī and others in the British Museum.
2. Cf. Amīn, Qiṣṣat al-'Adab, Vol.III pp.278-279; Anīs al-Maqdisī al-Duwal al-'Arabiyyah wa 'Ādābuhā (Beirut 1936) p.184.
3. Al-Dusūqī, Fī al-'Adab, vol. I, p.11.

another author's work was not plagiarism, but proof of superiority. Thus, while the masses satisfied their desire for stirring tales by listening to popular story-tellers, Mawwāl reciters, or zajjālīn, serious literature, apart from Sufi poems, tracts and litanies, was neglected. Prose writers were expending their energies on rhymed and heavily ornamented repetitious Maqāmāt; poets were turning out panegyrics and erotic poems on conventional patterns, or indulging in the characteristic exercises of Tashṭīr and Takhmīs in which they diluted the poems of their predecessors by insertions of their own.(1) There was nothing strange about it, for the whole country was ignorant, without culture or original thought; there was not even the vocabulary to express literary creation worthy of that name. Thus imitation was rampant, originality scarce.

The invasion of Egypt by Napoleon in 1798 marks the beginning of a new era, commonly known as the "Modern Period" or "the Renaissance of Arabic literature". The literature of the Renaissance is characterised by the emergence of a new factor which is, to a certain extent, contributory to its growth: it bears the stamp of both Western culture and Arabian civilisation which put an end to the dark ages and opened up new vistas.(2) Western culture came from several

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1. Cf. al-Iskandarī, al-Mufaṣṣal, Vol. II pp.277-280.
2. Cf. Tāhā Husayn, Hāfiz wa Shawqī, (Cairo 1933), pp. 1-3, 8-9; Amīn, Qiṣṣat al-Adab, Vol. III, pp.283-284; Gibb., B.S.O.S. Vol. IV, pp.745-747.

sources, and poured into Egypt through several channels.

The first of these channels was the Napoleonic invasion itself which provided a stimulus both direct and indirect. The immediate impulse is reflected in the cautious interest it evoked among the 'Ulamā' in the wonders of Western science.(1) The close personal contact of some of them with French scholars and scientists, the sight of French libraries, laboratories and art exhibitions could not fail to produce their effect. The contact with the French also revealed to the Egyptians that there were other ways of life than their own, and new things worth learning and doing.(2) The indirect or remote effect of the French invasion was its influence on the mind of Muḥammad 'Alī who found the culture of Europe worth transplanting on his own soil. When he soon after became the ruler of Egypt, this frame of mind was conducive to the emergence of other factors which were not only effective in themselves, but constantly productive of new ones. All this led to the assimilation of Western civilisation on a large scale. Muḥammad 'Alī was a militarist, determined to borrow European arms, then to fulfil his own ambition of building an empire.(3) However, the cultural by-products of

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1. Cf. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, 'Ajā'ib al-'Āthār fī al-Tarājim wal 'Akhbār, (Cairo 1297 A.H.) Vol. III, pp.34-35
2. Pierre Cachia, Tāhā Husayn, (London, 1956) pp.5-6; Dayf, al-Adab., pp.2-3; Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol. IV, pp.10-12
3. Cf. Cachia, op.cit., p.7; Dayf, al-Adab, pp.3-4, 12-13; Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol. IV, p.13.

this process were more lasting in their effects than the military achievement itself.

The second channel through which Western culture penetrated into Egypt were the technical schools founded by Muḥammad 'Alī. Modelled on European lines, and often under European supervision, these schools had, as their first aim, the training of doctors, lawyers, administrators and technical experts of all kinds whom Muḥammad 'Alī needed for his ambitious projects.(1) It was inevitable that many of them should be attracted towards other sides of Western culture than those they were taught at school, and especially to French literature. On the other hand, schools for technical studies were in urgent need of textbooks in Arabic. Since original productions were clearly out of the question at this stage, the only possible course was to have Western schoolbooks, reference and scientific books translated into Arabic. As the majority of the teachers were of European, especially French extraction, the textbooks were mostly French. Although translation made rapid progress, the task of translating medical or technical books was extremely difficult for, since it was the first time that Western medical science had to be

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1. For details cf. Zaydān, 'Ādāb, Vol. IV, pp.18-20; al-Dusūqī, Fī al-Adab, Vol. I, pp.16-17.

expressed in Arabic, the translator was faced by a lack of technical terms, so that new turns of phrase had first to be coined which, again, was impossible without the sanction of a competent authority. This was found in a body of Sheikhs of al-Azhar, the only authority on literary and philological questions at that time, who were appointed jointly with some translators as Muharrirīn or emendors of these translations with the task of making them intelligible to the average student, and coining the necessary new forms and words.(1) Since the literary standard of that time, including that of al-Azhar, was comparatively low, and the vocabulary rather limited, those concerned in this task were compelled to study and rely on the textbooks from the time of Arabian civilisation to find words and phrases from which to derive suitable scientific terms. This task brought together French teachers and translators and a small group of Sheikhs of al-Azhar, and the frequent interchange of thoughts and views in the course of joint labour could not but be fertile. It produced a valuable mental reaction. The Sheikhs who were engaged in this task, up to then essentially conservative in their outlook, soon felt interested in Western science, and it goes without

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1. Al-Dusūqī, Fī al-Adab, Vol. I, p.17; Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādab, Vol. IV, pp.158-160; for more details about the Mutarjimīn, the Muharrirīn and the Muṣaḥḥihīn cf. Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol. IV, pp.158-179.

saying that the students of technical schools who represented the élite of al-Azhar - for most of them had been selected from al-Azhar when Muhammad 'Alī opened the technical schools - were irresistibly drawn into the orbit of Western thought.

The third, not less important channel through which Western culture began to flow into Egypt, was opened up through the establishment of the printing press in Egypt in 1822, when the celebrated Būlāq printing press was founded, for all the textbooks translated from European languages printed on this press made Western science easily accessible to the larger public.(1)

The fourth vital channel was a number of educational missions - as they were usually called - sent to Europe, mostly to France, for training in the art of civil and military administration and technical subjects. The original idea was merely to equip them with up-to-date training in their particular disciplines, and no more; however, circumstances combined to produce additional results. It was unavoidable that they mixed with the people of the countries in which they studied, and became acquainted with their art, their habits, their ways of life and thought. Thus, when they returned, they brought back not only European science, but

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1. Cf. Ḍayf. al-Adab, pp.21-22; al-Dusūqī, Fī al-Adab, Vol. I pp.33-35; Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol. IV, pp.47-50; Père Louis Cheikho, al-'Ādāb al-'Arabiyyah fī al-Qarn al-Tāsi' 'Ashar (Beirut 1908-1910) Vol. I, pp.44-48.

the literature and art of Europe as well.[1] For these reasons these educational missions inevitably constituted a potential agency for the propagation of European culture. After their return most of these students were put to translate the textbooks they had studied, and were sometimes locked up in the citadel until they had completed their task.[2] However, they were so busy with their professional duties while Muḥammad'Alī's reign lasted that those who had literary tastes and ability had no time to indulge in their literary proclivities, and the effect on literature was necessarily delayed.

The fifth and most creative channel was the School of Languages, opened in 1836 at the instance of Rifā'ah Rāfi' al-Ṭahṭāwī - the most outstanding literary figure of the first mission to France - and placed under his directorship in 1837. Rifā'ah, anxious to create interest in French science and culture, worked out the plan for the school which was to educate technical school-teachers in Egypt itself. An off-shoot of this school was the Bureau of Translation which disseminated Western thought in Egypt.[3]

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1. For the names of the most outstanding of these students cf. al-Dusūqī, Fī al-Adab, Vol. I, pp.18,19; Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol. IV, pp.21-23.
2. Al-Dusūqī, Fī al 'Adab, Vol. I, p.56
3. For details about the School cf. Ahmad Ahmad Badawī, Rifā'ah al Tahṭāwī Bey (Cairo 1950), pp.38-44; Jāk Tājir, Harakāt al-Tarjamah fī Miṣr Khilāl al-Qarn al-Tāsi' 'Ashar, (Cairo 1945), pp.15-70.

It is needless to stress that literary works officially received only scanty attention, and the translators worked under such pressure that the standard attained was never very high. As was the case with the missions, the effect of these translations on Arabic literature was not immediate and did not bear fruit until the second wave of Westernisation under Ismā'īl. Literary production in Muḥammad 'Alī's time continued on the lines of the eighteenth century. Most men of letters came from the traditional school and, little affected by the new Western orientation, still indulged in Badī' style and artificial ornamentation, and merely imitated their predecessors.(1) European education remained confined to certain circles which had little time to engage in literature. Nevertheless, ideas were being disseminated and a new kind of prose was gaining currency among those educated in Europe: a prose with a purpose, with something to say and little time to spare for puns and superfluous ornamentation. Literary talents with Western education who, in Muḥammad 'Alī's time, had been unable to find the leisure necessary for literary pursuits, were idle under 'Abbās I and Sa'īd's reign, for these two rulers lacked Muḥammad 'Alī's enthusiasm for

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1. Cf. al-Dusūqī, Fī al Adab, Vol. I, p.51; al-Iskandarī, al-Mufassal, Vol. II, p.333; Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol. IV, pp.194, 232; Ṭāhā Husayn and others, al-Mujmal fī Tārīkh al-'Adab al-'Arabī (Cairo 1929), p.261-262.

Western education, abandoned all his schemes and closed down schools.(1) Thus, literary enthusiasts had a lot of time to spare for the exercise of their literary gifts, to read Western literature and produce literature of their own. Consequently, in Ismā'īl's reign some of the seed so widely and indiscriminately scattered by 'Muḥammad 'Alī germinated and bore fruit.

As has been mentioned above, the first pioneers of Occidentalism had been chosed from the ancient, conservative and traditional school of al-Azhar and had therefore, linguistically, a solid background of Arabic language. Though educated in the West, they found it hard to rid themselves of the fetters of the traditional literature they had been taught at al-Azhar. They could not break away from the old school; neither could they ignore the new ways of thought they had brought from Europe. Thus their literary production bears two stamps: that of the old, traditional, and that of the new, modern culture. Their ideas, thoughts and feelings were new, and represented a wealth of meaning, but when they had to be put into words, habit and tradition compelled them to turn to traditional imitative forms;(2) they were torn constantly between these

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1. Cf. Mubārak, op.cit., Vol. IX, p.43; M. Muṣṭafā, Tārīkh Miṣr pp. 139, 140, 150.
2. Tāhā Ḥusayn, Ḥāfiẓ wa Shawqī, pp. 4, 5, 77.

two extremes. The new education, however, prompted them to break the old fetters, and adopt a simple, lucid style, which the more adventurous among them occasionally did, but mostly the traditional manner prevailed. The representative of this school is Rifā'ah al-Ṭahṭāwī who can rightly be called the father of modern Arabic literature.(1)

The second generation of occidentalists came not from al-Azhar as the above mentioned first wave of innovators, but from the civil schools founded by Muḥammad 'Alī. They completed their education in Europe or at the School of Languages, so that their background of classical Arabic differed from that of their predecessors. Their study of Western literature, without previous study of Arabic language, and Muslim religious subjects, had had its natural effect: they broke away from every tradition and sought new ways for the expression of their free thoughts. They carved out a new path in literary style and introduced new subject matter into Arabic literature. However, since they had no background of Arabic literature, their language proved sadly inadequate when the vast amount of Western knowledge they had acquired demanded to be put into words. But, uprooted from their own soil as they were by excessive Western

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1. Al-Dusūqī, Fī al-Adab, Vol. I, p.20; for details about Rifā'ah's style cf. Badawī, op.cit. 213-255; Cheikho, op.cit., Vol. II, pp.7-8.

influence, they were not even conscious of their poor knowledge of the Arabic language, but blamed the language itself as out of date, as a medieval tongue of the desert, the camel and the palm trees, which had done its duty in the past, but did not answer the requirements of modern civilisation.[1] This generation of rebels against the traditional school with its ornamental style went to the other extreme and renounced classical Arabic altogether, replacing it by colloquial in their literary production. Muḥammad 'Uthmān Jalāl[2] and Ya'qūb Ṣanwa', the founder of the colloquial paper Abū Naddārah, and the famous colloquial playwright,[3] are the representatives of this modern movement. However, it is characteristic of Egyptians that they are greatly attached to their customs, traditions, religion and way of life. The colloquial language, although easily understood and accessible to the bulk of the population, is not rooted in tradition; moreover, it has no codified grammar, and differs from province to province and district to district.[4] Furthermore, it is despised by literary and general intellectual circles. Thus the movement had little chance of success.

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1. Cf. Tāhā Ḥusayn, Ḥāfiz wa Shawqī, p.4-5.
2. For details cf. Shaykh 'Abd al-Rāziq, B.S.O.S., Vol. II, p.256; Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol. IV, p.211; Gibb, B.S.O.S., Vol. IV, p. 748; Cheikho, op.cit., Vol. II, p.91.
3. For details cf. Ṭarrāzī, op.cit., Vol. II, pp.281-287; 'Abduh, al-Ṣaḥafī al-Thā'ir, all through; Gibb. B.S.O.S., Vol. IV, p.755 (footnote).
4. Al-Dusūqī, Fī al-Adab, Vol. I, p.94-95.

Moreover, the traditionalist, represented by the Azharists, and the vast majority of the intellectuals educated in the traditional way of the time, were aware of the danger of the use of colloquial as a written language for classical Arabic and consequently for the Qur'ān, the religion and national customs. This created a rift in Arabic literary circles between "the old" and "the new", the traditionalists and the progressive modernists.(1)

The Arabic literary world split into two hostile camps, which were both in an artificial position, for neither took into account the circumstances of the age: the modernists did not consider religion, customs, traditions and the predilection of the Arab to value and imitate his literary heritage;(2) the traditionalists failed to notice that modern science and civilisation had conquered the country.(3) The adherents of the old tradition, out of touch with contemporary thought, appealed only to their own narrow circle; the modernists had run too far ahead and, in cutting themselves from the past, damaged their own roots. Moreover, they were still suffering from the lack of mental adjustment caused by the suddenness of modernisation; their Western ideas had been too rapidly acquired to be more than superficial.

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1. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, Ḥadīth al-'Arbi'ā', (Cairo 1937-1945), Vol. I, pp. 319-323; Gibb, B.S.O.S., Vol. IV, p.749.
2. Ibid; 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aqqād, Sā'āt Bayna al-Kutub, (Cairo 1950), Vol. I, pp.97-100.
3. Gibb, B.S.O.S., Vol. IV, p.749; Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, Ḥadīth, Vol.I, p. 323.

Such was the origin of the strife between old and new in modern Arabic literature which was to persist, with varying terms, for many decades to come.

However, the far seeing moderates of both camps soon realised that an uncompromising refusal to move with the times spelt defeat, but that, on the other hand, to disregard the long history of Arabic literature and to renounce the Arabian civilisation altogether would be equal to the obliteration of the national character, thought and religion.

The moderate group realised that if the old traditions were to count for anything in the life of the nation, the culture of the Golden Age of Islam must be revived, its textbooks re-studied and its values re-established in a form adapted to contemporary requirements.(1) They found, in these books of the Golden Age, the most suitable expression of their ideas and their thoughts. Their literary style was natural, straightforward, untouched by the artificiality of medieval decadence.(2) The leaders of the moderate group "are for the most part men who have drunk from other springs and look at the world with different eyes. Yet the past still plays a part in their intellectual background, and

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1. Gibb, B.S.O.S.,Vol. IV, p.749; Ḍayf, al-Adab, p.20; Ṭaha Ḥusayn, Ḥāfiẓ wa Shawqī, pp.2-4.
2. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, Ḥāfiẓ wa Shawqī, p.3; Ḍayf, al-Adab, p.32.

there is a section among them upon whom the past retains a hold scarcely shaken by newer influences".[1] They also realised that the still persisting stagnation must be overcome. At the same time they were also convinced that it was necessary to keep pace with the progress of Western culture. Their inclination was to have the best of both worlds by taking from each source what suited the circumstances most: new trends, new thoughts and new science from the West, but the forms of expression from the classical Arabic culture. In short, they attempted to take the new, but not forgetting the old.[2] To carry out their plan, they founded societies:

i - to select scientific, literary, religious and philosophic books written in the golden era of Islamic thought; the ʿAbbāsid, Umayyad, early Islamic and pre-Islamic period from private and public libraries many of which were attached to mosques, to publish and popularise them and make them easily accessible to wider circles of the population.[3]

ii - to translate literary and scientific books from Western languages, mainly French, and make them as easily available to every interested person as possible.

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1. Gibb, B.S.O.S., Vol. IV, p.746.
2. Husayn Haykal, Thawrat al-Adab (Cairo 1933), p.155.
3. Cf. Clement Huart, A History of Arabic Literature, (London 1903), p.422.

Briefly, their aim was to combine the priceless treasures of their own past culture of inestimable value with modern civilisation.(1) The most outstanding of the newly founded societies was the Ma'ārif Society which greatly contributed to the spread of Westernisation. It was organised in 1869 with the object of diffusing knowledge and sciences by securing useful books and treatises from the Arabic past and from contemporary European sources, compiling, emending, epitomising them and making them easily available to those who desired them.(2) This society possessed its own printing press which, together with those already in existence like the Coptic press,(3) the Wadi al-Nīl press the Rawdat al Madārīs press, the national press of Alexandria, the Wahbiyyah press(4) and others, were of great assistance in carrying out the plan. "Old books on religion, literature, philology, philosophy and sociology reappeared, and people realised that the capacity of the Arabic language to express free thought, emotion, research and science had been more considerable than they had imagined, and that behind the rigidly and

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1. Cf. Mubārak, Op. Cit., Vol. XIII, p.55
2. For details about the statute of the society cf. al-Waqā'i', 7.6.1869; for names of the members of the society and the books they published cf. Rāfi'ī, 'Aṣr Ismā'īl, Vol. I, pp. 256-258; al-Dusūqī, Fī al-Adab, Vol.I, p.62; Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol. IV, p.78.
3. Founded in 1860; cf. Rāfi'ī, 'Asr Ismā'īl, Vol.I, pp.266-267; Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol. IV, p.50.
4. Founded in 1863, cf. Rāfi'ī, 'Asr Ismā'īl, Vol.I, pp.266-267; al-Dusūqī, Fī al-Adab, Vol.I, p.87. For some of the books published cf. Ibid.

dogmatically limited number of books - which were familiar to them as they were frequently memorised at al-Azhar - there were many other books, containing life and strength and also beauty of thought and art, with which they were not acquainted. They read and consequently were affected by what they read, and the ultimate effect of this study manifested itself at al-Azhar when they became acquainted with old books on philology, religion, Tafsīr, traditions, theology and philosophy in particular. The belief of the liberals of al-Azhar in the familiar dogmatic books that were being studied already was shaken, and they began to rebel against them.(1) But the rebellion was faced by the hostility of the reactionary Sheikhs who were in the majority. "Thus the fruit of this marriage between old and new did not ripen quickly at al-Azhar".(2) Other circles, however, consisting chiefly of men with modern education, "read the Arabic literature of pre-Islamic, post-Islamic, Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid times. They found it near to natural and far from artificial expression. They saw in it living feeling and sense and emotion and thought ... they felt that this old literature was nearer to their mentality and more capable of picturing their emotions and feeling than the existing, relatively new but moribund one, which represented the ability of its authors of assembling words and subsequently

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1. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, Ḥāfiẓ wa Shawqī, pp.2-3.
2. Ibid.

dividing them, and arranging them after that according to Badī' style without representing ... the throbbing of the heart among hearts, and the feelings of a spirit among spirits, and without conveying them to the heart and the mind of the reader ... for they did not come from the heart of their authors. Therefore the taste had begun to change strongly".(1)

The outcome of this close union or rather "marriage" between the two cultures, the new Western and the old Arab one, was the Renaissance of modern Arabic literature. The two trends were inseparably amalgamated in the minds of the more broadminded youth of al-Azhar as well as those of the young men studying at civil schools and produced, in the last third of the nineteenth century, a new generation of modern Arabic literature.(2) It was largely due to the moderate school which played so great a rôle in combining the two civilisations, and injecting the old body of Arabic literature with the young blood of European thought, that both Arabic literature and language were saved from a double danger inevitably threatening them: one, of declining into a pale reflection of a culture foreign to their nature, as propagated by the modern camp; the other, the danger of dogmatic

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1. Tāhā Ḥusayn, Ḥāfiz wa Shawqi, pp.3-4.
2. Cf. Ibid, p.187; Amīn, Qiṣṣat, Vol.III, p.283; Tāhā Ḥusayn, and others, Kitāb al-Tawjīh al-Adabī, (Cairo 1951), p.230.

rigidity, imitation and stagnation, unsuited to the requirements of the times, as persisted in by the reactionary traditional school.

While the dispute between the reactionaries and the modernists was raging, many factors were at force to strengthen the position of the moderate camp. First, the efforts of the Orientalists, the Western scholars, who took a strong interest in the long forgotten literature of the dormant Arab East which, though fortunately preserved from destruction, had been relegated to oblivion for many centuries. Therefore, the study of Arabic was revived at European universities, its manuscripts were collected, revised and correctly edited by scholars of repute.(1) The second factor was the desire of Ismā'īl to make Egypt a part of Europe. "Egypt" said Ismā'īl "has become a part of Europe, and is no longer a part of Africa". He turned again to the sources of Western civilisation abandoned by his two predecessors, reopening the School of Languages, sending missions to Europe and encouraging translations from European literature and science.(2) "The science and culture of Europe have been rendered accessible in translations and adaptations of which the complete list would form a volume

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1. For details of Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol. IV, pp.135-154; al-Dusūqī, Fī al-Adab, Vol. I, pp.305-322.
2. Rāfi'ī, 'Aṣr Ismā'īl, Vol. I, pp.215-217

in itself. Thus, an Arab may read in his own language the tragedies of Racine, the comedies of Molière, the fables of La Fontaine, 'Paul and Virginia' the 'Talisman', 'Monte Cristo' (not to mention scores of minor romances), and even the Iliad of Homer."(1) In fact Egypt had in Ismā'īl "a ruler eager that his country should have at least the outward appearance of a modern European state, and with a munificence that was to deplete the treasury, and invite foreign interference, he subsidised many a project that fostered the assimilation of Western culture."(2) Ismā'īl also unconditionally permitted European missionaries to open schools on European lines, and to teach in European languages.(3)

The third factor to strengthen the modern movement was the zeal for the acquisition of knowledge which dispelled the gloom which had so long over-shadowed the country, swept away much of the ignorance, superstition and bigotry, especially among the educated classes, and inspired vitality into the more or less lethargic masses.

The fourth, not less important factor to foster the Renaissance were the libraries, which provided the printing presses with the manuscripts of the Golden Age to be printed

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1. Reynold A. Nicholson, A Literary History of the Arabs, (London 1953) p.469.
2. Cachia, op.cit.,p.10.
3. The number of catholic and protestant missionary schools reached 70 in his reign; cf. Rāfa'ī, 'Aṣr Ismā'īl, Vol.I p.216

and popularised among the readers. Some of these libraries were public, such as the Khedīwiyyah library, founded in 1870, the Dār al-'Āthār library, the mosque libraries, ministerial and high school libraries,(1) especially that of al-Azhar;(2) and some belonged to private people. Private libraries were such as the Bakriyyah, Wafā'iyyah, Dardīr, Bārūdī, Taymūriyyah, Zakiyyah and others.(3)

The fifth factor was the spread of education, effected at first by the re-opening of schools of the old type and, when it became clear that these no longer corresponded to the needs of the new time, by the foundation of new primary, secondary and preparatory schools, and a variety of higher schools, Besides, there were private schools, Coptic society schools and Islamic schools.(4)

The sixth factor was the foundation of the institute of Dār al-'Ulūm in 1872 which represents the first attempt to acquaint teachers with pedagogical principles, and also the first institute to combine the old and the new civilisation in its curriculum. Its students were selected from among the best of al-Azhar, which means that they first acquired a good grounding in Arabic and Islamic studies and then proceeded to study Islamic subjects and Arabic literature

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1. For details of Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol. IV, pp.94-98, 100-105.
2. For details cf. Ibid, pp.97-98.
3. For details cf. Ibid, pp. 99, 105-109.
4. For details cf. Rāfi'ī 'Aṣr Ismā'īl, Vol. I, pp.208-217.

in the modern way as well as European sciences. The part that this institution played in speeding up the process of amalgamation of the two cultures cannot be over-estimated. It represents the confluence, so to speak, of the streams of Eastern and Western thought in the valley of the Nile.(1)

The seventh factor to contribute to the development of the modern Arabic Renaissance movement were the private circles, centring round certain outstanding intellectual figures most of whom had drunk at both founts of knowledge, the Western and the Arabian culture. The most important among them were: 'Alī Pasha Mubārak,(2) Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī,(3) 'Abd Allāh Fikrī,(4) Intellectuals with a different cultural background and orientation, traditional or modern, used to assemble at these circles to discuss literary, philosophical, religious and social problems, as well as to read books and discuss their contents. These circles were fruitful in that they gave different elements among the intellectuals the opportunity to meet and exchange their views. The outcome of their discussions proved to the participants that there were benefits to be derived from "the old" as well as from "the new".

The eighth of the factors which combined to establish

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1 Cf. Dayf, al-Adab, p. 14; Gibb, B.S O S., vol. iv, p. 753.
2. Cf. Amīn, Zu'amā', pp.200-201.
3. Ibid., p.207
4. Ibid., p.208

the Renaissance movement was the advent to Egypt of the fiery-minded Jamāl al-Dīn in 1871. Soon the broadminded members of the moderate group as well as some more amenable among the extremists felt attracted towards him. Most of his disciples found in him an inspiration for the expression of their feelings of discontent with the existing order of things. "They needed a leader to mould their thoughts and put them into some kind of shape".(1) They found this leader in Jamāl al-Din. His influence, due to "his prodigious learning in all fields of Muslim lore won for him the respect and homage of groups of eager disciples to whom he imparted his methods of reconciling the historic, philological and philosophical position of Islam with the attainment of modern scientific thought".(2) As has been repeatedly stated, Jamāl al-Dīn not only read and discussed with his pupils many works of Muslim scholars which were then much neglected, but also charmed all who attended his salon with his own learning and introduced his pupils to a number of modern works on various sciences, which had been translated into Arabic.(3) Therefore Jamāl al-Dīn was the catalyst which caused the coalescence of the two cultures,

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1. Dunne, op.cit., p.402.
2. Adams, Op.cit., pp.14-15
3. Cf. Adams, op.cit., p.34; al-Manār, Vol. VIII p.389; al-Iskandarī, al-Mufaṣṣal, Vol. II, p.372; Rāfi'ī, 'Aṣr Ismā'īl, Vol. II, p.149; Riḍā Tārīkh al-Ustādh, Vol. I, p.32

the Western and the Muslim one. Jamāl al-Dīn always pointed out to his students that the revival of Muslim countries could only be brought about by a synthesis of the science of the West and Arabian culture. But Jamāl al-Dīn imparted to his pupils much more than mere instruction, however learned and valuable it was in itself. "It was as though the man", says Jurjī Zaydān, referring to the literary revival which was occasioned by Jamāl's teaching, " had breathed into them his own spirit; and they opened their eyes, and behold, they had been in darkness and the light had come to them. So they caught from him, in addition to learning and philosophy, a living spirit that caused them to see their state as it really was, inasmuch as the veil of false ideas had been rent from their minds. They therefore roused themselves to activity in writing, and put forth articles on literary, philosophical and religious subjects'".(1) The uncompromising attitude of the Azharists reduced the number of those attracted to the liberal-minded Jamāl al-Dīn, and thus the literary revival was mostly limited to the Effendi class and the newly Europeanised circles.

Another factor to contribute considerably to the Renaissance of Arabic literature was the emigration of learned

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1. Zaydān Mashāhīr Vol. II, p.60 as quoted by Adams, op.cit., p.36.

men from Syria to Egypt to escape Ottoman oppression, and to find a livelihood under Ismā'īl, the ruler who encouraged every immigration from abroad. Western culture had come to Syria at a comparatively early time, due to the partly Christian character of the country which possessed a number of missionary schools in which the younger generation came under direct European influence. The part played by these Syrian immigrants in the development of journalism and stage, and in the translation of Western books into Arabic, must not be disregarded. But some of them overstepped the mark, and tended to produce a loss of balance in their endeavour to rid Arabic literature of classical Arabic in favour of either the colloquial idiom or a foreign language.(1) In fact, they more or less concurred with the Egyptian modernists in this respect.

Yet another great factor, perhaps even the most influential of them all, was the establishment of Arabic journalism. The birth of journalism in Arab countries is usually associated with al-Waqā'i'al Miṣriyyah, founded in 1828 by Muḥammad 'Alī.(2) Up to 1865 al-Waqā'i' was the only paper in Egypt. Then new newspapers and magazines began

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1. Cf. Gibb, B.S.O.S.,Vol.IV, p.748.
2. Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādab, Vol. IV, pp.51-52; Dayf, al-Adab, pp.23-24; Ṭarrāzī, op.cit.,Vol.Ipp.46, 49,50; for details about al-Waqā'i', cf. 'Abduh, Taṭawwur, pp.25-47; Hartmann, op.cit.,pp. 2, 61.

to follow one another in quick succession. The most outstanding of them all was Wādī al-Nīl, founded in 1866 by 'Abd Allāh Abū al-Su'ūd, one of the assistants of Rifā'ah al-Ṭahṭāwī,(1) the short lived Nuzhat al-Afkār, founded in 1869 by Muḥammad 'Uthmān Jalāl and Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī,(2) Rawḍat al-Madāris, founded in 1870 by 'Alī Mubārak,(3) al-Ahrām, founded in 1876 by the Taqlā brothers,(4) and al-Waṭan, founded in 1877 by Mikhā'īl 'Abd al-Sayyid.(5) However, the earliest genuinely free effort was that of Jamāl al-Dīn, under whose aegis Ya'qūb Ṣanūwa' founded Abū Naḍḍārah,(6) and Adīb Isḥāq who founded Miṣr;(7) they were both first published in 1877.

The rôle of journalism in the establishment of the Renaissance of Arabic literature cannot be ignored by any means. The papers were a kind of school for the training of young writers as well as for the education of the public; they imparted knowledge to wide circles and were instrumental

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1. For details cf. Tarrāzī, op.cit. Vol.I, pp.69,130-131; 'Abduh, Taṭawwur, pp.63-64; Rāfi'ī,'Aṣr Ismā'īl, Vol.I, p.262.
2. For details cf. Tarrāzī, op.cit.,Vol.I, pp.47,78; 'Abduh, Taṭawwur, p.65; Rāfi'ī,'Aṣr Ismā'īl, Vol.I, p.263; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, Vol.II, pp.115-116.
3. For details cf. al-Dusūqī, Fī al-Adab, Vol.I, p.73-74; Rāfi'ī 'Aṣr Ismā'īl, Vol.I, pp.260-262; ~~Zaydān, Tārīkh~~ 'Abduh, Taṭawwur pp.52-54.
4. For details cf. 'Abduh, Taṭawwur, pp.69-73; Tarrāzī, op.cit., Vol. III, pp.50-53; Hartmann, op.cit.,pp.10-11, 34, 52.
5. For details cf. Hartmann, op.cit.,pp.32, 53; Tarrāzī, op.cit., Vol. III pp.9-12; 'Abduh, Taṭawwur, pp.75-76.
6. For details, cf. Tarrāzī, op.cit.,Vol.III, pp.8-9;
7. For details cf. Tarrāzī, op.cit.,Vol. III, pp.13-15; Hartmann, op.cit., pp.33,58.

in breaking down the barrier between the masses and the world outside. They published scientific articles, books translated from European languages and old Arabic literary texts as well. Thus the two cultures amalgamated in the minds of the readers, creating an outlook which was a blend of old and new. They also developed a new style to meet the daily needs of the press. The traditional style, "the creation of a small élite, involved, periphrastic and laden with obscurities, was out of touch with modern needs and expression, and unfitted to survive as a medium whose existence depended on obtaining the widest possible range of readers".(1)

When Abū Naddārah was suspended after its attack on Ismā'īl's policy, Jamāl al-Dīn encouraged Adīb Isḥāq whom he and his circles provided with articles and money, to found in 1877, the Miṣr newspaper(2) which was to become his mouthpiece, and al-Tijārah in 1878. Another newspaper of Jamāl al-Dīn's party was Mir'āt al-Sharq which was reopened by his disciple Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī.(3) Also Miṣr al-Fatāh was founded by a group of progressive members of

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1. Gibb, B.S.O.S., Vol.IV, p.752
2. Cf. Tarrāzī, op.cit., Vol.II, p.107; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, Vol.II, p.77; Ridā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh, Vol.I, pp.32, 38, 45-46.
3. For details cf. Tarrāzī, op.cit., Vol. III, pp.15-17; Ridā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh, Vol. I, p.38.

his cirlce in 1879.[1] Later al-Mahrūsah and al-'Asr al-Jadīd of Salīm al-Naqqāsh (1880),[2] Nadīm's Al-Tankīt wa al-Tabkīt and Al-Ṭā'if (1881), al-Mufīd[3] and al-Najāḥ[4] of Ḥasan al-Shamsī (1881) were founded with the same aim of propagating Jamāl al-Dīn's policy.

On the other hand the impact of the revival of the Egyptian press on public opinion, that is to say on that of the intellectuals, can hardly be overrated. The newspapers, became the link joining Egypt to the rest of the world, a fact which put an end to her isolation. As to the journalists, they began modestly as mere war-correspondents, reporting the news of the 1877 Russo-Turkish war. Some, however, more enterprising than others, boldly embarked on a new and somewhat risky venture. Not satisfied with war bulletins, they introduced, as a novel feature, regular reports of interesting social, political and domestic events in occidental countries, and descriptions of their customs and life in general; they even dared to use these reports as a basis for comparison between the enviable conditions of life in Europe and the dismal circumstances prevalent in Egypt.[5]

The press became immensely popular all over the country, but it must be noted that the traditional scholastic

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1. For details cf. Tarrāzī op.cit.,Vol.III, pp.56-57.
2. For details cf. Ibid, pp.57-59.
3. Cf. Ibid. pp.20-21; 'Abduh, Tatawwur, p.114
4. Cf. Tarrāzī, op.cit.,Vol.III. p.21
5. Cf. Riḍā, Tārīkh, al-Ustādh, Vol. I, pp.37-38.

group kept aloof from it and even blamed the reading of magazines and newspapers as incompatible with religion since there was nothing to prevent them from telling lies, praising those who did not deserve praise and, chiefly and finally, because the time spent in reading papers could be more gainfully employed in reading the Qur'ān the the Traditions.

The eleventh factor to contribute to the growth of the Renaissance movement was the establishment of learned, scientific and literary societies, such as two literary and scientific societies founded by Ya'qūb Sanwa', Mahfil al-Taqaddum and Mahfil Muḥibbī al-'Ilm in 1872,(1) the Geographical Society (1875),(2) Nadīm's Islamic Benevolent Society (1879) with branches in the provinces, his Literary and Artistic Society and finally the Coptic Benevolent Society. These societies were instrumental in spreading education by lectures, research, discussion and finally by the foundation of schools.

The twelfth factor in the development of literature which diverted it from its formerly traditionally limited aims to problems of national and religious nature, andgave it an essentially didactic character, was the national movement.(3) All the forms of literature, prose, poetry,

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1. Cf. Tarrāzī, op.cit.,Vol.II, p.283; 'Abduh, al-Ṣaḥafī al-Thā'ir, pp.28-29.
2. For details cf. Rāfi'ī, 'Aṣr Ismā'īl, Vol.I, p.258; Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol.IV, p.76.
3. Treated in great detail in Chapters II and III of the present work.

oratory and Zajal were instrumental not only in awakening the nation from its lethargy, but even in mobilising it to participate in the war.

The thirteenth factor was the existence of political societies which, established as a consequence of the growth of nationalism in the country, served as a training-ground for journalism and platform speaking.(1) The first of them were The Rhetoric Assembly, an off-shoot of Nadīm's Islamic Society in Alexandria, the earlier mentioned two societies, al Maqāṣid al-Khayriyyah and al-Tawfīq al Khayriyyah in Cairo. These societies "became the scene of a series of brilliant fêtes, in which orator after orator pictured in vivid colours the coming regeneration of Egypt".(2)

The fourteenth and final factor to contribute to the growth of the Renaissance movement and to bring the two cultures together was the stage. Dramatic art - if it can be described as dramatic art at all - in Muhammad 'Alī's time was very primitive in character. It goes back to Ibn Rābiyah who, with his troupe of itinerant actors, used to perform his plays, representing episodes from the life of provincial rulers, for the amusement of the Viceroy.(3)

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1. Gibb, B.S.O.S.,Vol.IV, pp.74-75
2. Broadley, op.cit.,p.209.
3. Ṣāliḥ, op.cit.,p.75; Al-Ustādh, pp.501-502.

Dramatic art, with the full implications of the word, did not exist in Egypt before Ismā'īl, and made its first appearance when he founded Egypt's first theatre, the Comic Theatre in the Azbakiyyah quarter inaugurated in January 1868.(1) This was followed by the Royal Opera House, founded in November 1869.(2) The Comic Theatre specialised in Arabic performances, while the Opera was reserved, at least at the beginning, for guest performances of foreign companies. The first to found an Arabic theatrical company and to stage plays in Arabic in Egypt was the Egyptian Ya'qūb Ṣanwa'(3) who studied stage-craft for three years in Leghorn in Italy,(4) and spoke more than twelve languages. His performances were first staged in 1869, initially at the Khedivial palace, but were transferred to the above mentioned Azbakiyyah Theatre in 1870.(5) He produced 32 plays, comic as well as romantic, in 200 performances, spaced regularly over the period of two years. These performances were attended by high and low, even by the Khedive himself who used to call Ya'qūb Ṣanwa' "the Molière of Egypt".(6) But when his plays later began to refer to political problems, Ismā'īl ordered the theatre

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1. Rāfi'ī, 'Aṣr Ismā'il, Vol. I, p.299
2. Ibid.
3. 'Abduh, al-Ṣaḥafī al-Thā'ir, p.19; Tarrāzī, op.cit., Vol.II, p.283; al-Dūsūqī, Fī al-Adab, Vol.I pp.83, 304-305.
4. Ibid.
5. 'Abduh, al-Ṣaḥafī al-Thā'ir, p.17.
6. Ibid, p.21; Ṭarrāzī, op.cit., Vol.II, p.283.

to be closed.[1] Contrary to the prevailing belief, the theatre for the first time was not imported to Egypt by Syrians, but owes its existence in Egypt to the Egyptian Ya'qūb Ṣanwa'.[2] In fact, this erroneous opinion goes back to the Syrians themselves who have the tendency to claim, rightly or wrongly, the merit for having initiated every modern development in every Arab country. It must, however, be admitted in all fairness, that dramatic art in the full sense of the word was known in Syria before it was known in Egypt. Nevertheless, there was a break in the Egyptian tradition between the years 1872-1876, until Salīm al-Naqqāsh came from Syria with his company of actors. Subsequently, Yūsuf Khayyāṭ founded another theatrical company with some Egyptian artists. Dramatic art seems to have appealed to the Egyptians, although it was by no means regarded "as a profession, or recognised as a way of earning money.[3]" They performed in schools and theatres, with amateur student societies;"the first to do that was 'Abd Allāh Nadīm who performed two Arabic plays, Al-Waṭan and Al-'Arab, on the stage of his school as well as on that of the Zizīnyā theatre in Alexandria[4]". The plays performed by Ya'qūb Sanwa' and Syrian companies were,

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1. For details cf. 'Abduh, al-Ṣaḥafī al-Thā'ir, p.22.
2. Cf. Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol. IV, p.131; Cachia, op.cit., p.18
3. Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol.IV, p.131.
4. Ibid, Shaykh 'Abd al-Rāziq, B.S.O.S., Vol.II, p.256.

without exception, translations from Western languages, especially from French, and only very few of the plays introduced by Egyptians were originally Arabic.(1) Since the theatre presented, to Arab masses, European thoughts and problems in their own language, it also contributed, to a large extent, to an amalgamation of the two cultures.

All these factors were at work promoting the development of literary life in Egypt, and producing a new style of literature which was the outcome of the fusion of the two cultures.(2) It must be stated that the development of literature was by no means sudden, or due to deliberate endeavours of one group or one person in particular, but a natural secondary gradual evolution consequent on a comparable development of the cultural and social life of the people.

As has been mentioned earlier, there were three groups or schools of literature at the outset of the Renaissance movement; the reactionary or traditional scholastic group whose ideal was the Maqāmāt and Badī', rhymed and verbally ornamented prose, a school which gave style priority over contents, and whose main subjects remained traditional, disregarding whatever new problems there were. The poets

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1. For details about Dramatic Art in Egypt cf. Zaydān, Tārīkh 'Ādāb, Vol. IV, pp.128-133; 'Umar al-Dusūqī, al-Masrahiyyah, (Cairo 1957), pp.12-50; Shaykh 'Abd al-Rāziq, B.S.O.S., Vol. II, pp.255-256; Al-Ustādh, pp.501-503; 'Abduh, al-Ṣaḥafī al-Thā'ir, pp.19-27.
2. Cf. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, al-'Adab al-Tawjīhī, pp.230-235.

of this school continued on the lines of the previous century, imitating their predecessors in a way that was essentially mechanical. Very few can be observed to express real emotion in their poetry, and can be rightly described as a school of versifiers. "They compose their odes and indulge in poetry only because composing verses is considered a fitting occupation for everyone that has studied prosody, rhetoric and Badī'... they learn these subjects and do exercises which they call poetry. Their Dīwāns are exactly like school exercise books".(1) In fact, it was the fashion for every Azharist, or anybody with some religious or traditional education to compose poetry, whether he had talent or not. Poetry to them consisted of a jumble of words with metres to hold them together, and stifled by heavy ornamentation; the whole dealt with traditional subjects: panegyric, elegy, personal satire, aphorisms and artificial pleasure songs on the love and wine theme. Whether their poetry was inspired by genuine emotion or not, was to them, entirely irrelevant. To most of them, poetry was "a mark of erudition to adorn their versification with a hundred and one verbal niceties, such as exordium, paranomasia, peroration etc.".(2) This school is represented by 'Alī al-Laythī (died 1896), Maḥmūd Ṣafwat al-Sā'ātī (died 1880) and 'Alī Abū al-Naṣr

1. 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aqqād, Shu'arā' Miṣr wa Bī'ātuhum fī al-Jīl al-Māḍī, (Cairo 1937), pp.8-9; cf.also Ḍayf, al-Adab, pp.28-29.
2. Shaykh 'Abd al-Rāziq, B.S.O.S., Vol.II. p.259.

(died 1881). The "poet" 'Abd Allāh Nadīm can also be classed with this category of poets. But the writers of this medieval scholastic type scorned simplicity, adopting a style which was obscure, full of literary allusions, overloaded with ornament and Badī' figures. Since it was generally regarded as the only aim of literature to provide intellectual entertainment and give scope for the exercise of wit and metrical skill, literature remained confined to the educated minority.

The increasing percentage of literacy and the spread of education in the country created the demand for a simple, easily intelligible literary style. Public demand for an easy style, coupled with the dissatisfaction of the moderates with both the scholastic and the modernist way of writing, the impact of the new European civilisation and the revival of the ancient Arabic culture, had a decisive influence on the development of the Arabic language. Also the above mentioned emergence of literary translation, which soon became very popular, contributed to the abandonment of rhymed and heavily ornamented prose. The contact of the two cultures created a social and political atmosphere which, in spite of political oppression and lack of freedom of thought, found its expression in an easy, popular, but nevertheless literary style.

The moderate group set out to write in the press in the new "straightforward" style which was intended to be intelligible to every reader, be he highly educated or not. "Easy style" in an apt phrase of Nadīm "is not scorned by intellectuals, nor need it be explained to the ignorant".(1) Also in the newly unearthed literature of the Golden Age they found such a style. It was a fresh Arabic literary style which, natural and direct and untainted with scholastic refinement, suited their requirements to perfection.

The moderate group dealt with poetry in a way which differed from its handling of prose. In the first place, they did not turn their attention towards it until much later, in fact after the breakdown of the national movement, for poetry at that time was regarded as an entertainment for leisure hours.(2) Obviously the poetry of the West did not suit Arab mentality, due to the deep rooted difference in metre and construction, and Western models had no effect whatever on Arabic poetry in the first period of the Renaissance movement. Conversely, the study of the Diwans of Arabic poetry of the Golden Age whose style they found quite capable of picturing the social political and emotional

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1. Al-Tankīt, 6.6.1881, p.3.
2. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, Ḥāfiẓ wa Shawqī, p.7.

problems of their own time, seemed to them worthy of imitation.(1) Therefore the modern Arabic poetry of the moderate group is characterised by the exclusive imitation of the Arabic literature of pre-Islamic, post-Islamic, Umayyad and 'Abbāsid poetry. "It is observable that the poets were inevitably influenced by the old in the first place. This influence is in itself proof of the life and the power and the capacity to endure of the old Arabic literature which has a fertile past, is full of treasures and has had the power to live and to fight all these centuries, and has the capacity to express, in its old form and style, problems of the new life".(2) Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī, (died 1904), Muḥammad/Abd al-Muṭṭalib (died 1931) Ismā'īl Ṣabrī, (died 1923) Tawfīq al-Bakrī (died 1932) are the representatives of this new school whose poetry is not a weak copy of ancient models, but on the same level as ancient poetry, and as powerful, vigorous and full of life and spirit.

As has been already pointed out, the extreme modernists were characterised by the tendency to use colloquial in their prose. It is therefore not unexpected that they also rebelled against the traditional style of poetry, against

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1. Al-'Aqqād, Shu'arā' Miṣr, pp.42-43; Tāhā Ḥusayn, Hāfiz wa Shawqī; pp.5-6.
2. Tāhā Ḥusayn, Hāfiz wa Shawqī, p.7; cf. also al-'Aqqād, Shu'arā' Miṣr; pp.8,11.

the principles of the ancient ode and the specific style of the ancient poets, and tried to revolutionise it, introducing new ideas and new diction. Many of them disregarded the use of Rawiyy, paid little attention to the ʾI'rāb, and if they did, they chose a very easy, almost colloquial style. They also employed new metres which did not come within the sixteen classical forms with all their difficult technicalities. The representatives of this school are Muhammad 'Uthmān Jalāl (died 1898) and Ya'qūb Ṣanwa' (died 1912). Their tendency to colloquialise or rather Egyptianise literature may have been due to the effect of European culture, so that they looked on classical Arabic as a kind of oriental Latin. As the Western countries had abandoned Latin in favour of their vernacular, thus, they thought, Arab countries should turn to their own vernacular which, in their case, was the Egyptian colloquial language. On the other hand, the psychological effect of the recent discovery of the language and civilisation of ancient Egypt which was the first civilisation of the world, made them feel proud of their own antecedents, and aroused in them the wish to detach themselves from Arab civilisation and build an entirely new one on ancient Egyptian foundations.

NADĪM AND THE INTRODUCTION OF A NEW PROSE STYLE.

These cross-currents could not fail to affect 'Abd Allāh Nadīm as a writer, and his prose shows a distinct development which consists of several stages. His earlier prose is more mechanical and less spiritual, the decoration more artificial; his imagination is restrained, and of the didactic purpose which was to relegate everything else into the background in later years, there is little trace. It is only natural that a youth like Nadīm who had been educated on entirely traditional lines without contact with Western culture, should, at least in this first period of literary activity, adhere to scholastic imitative principles in his literary production. He was firmly convinced at that time that there was no literature without Badī' devices, and that a man of letters required no more than skill in Badī' figures; meaning he considered to be of secondary importance. The embellishment of speech by tropes and antitheses and by the exploitation of Arabic morphology was the first and almost sole aim of his literary ambitions. The habit of balancing words and phrases by rhymed synonyms which added nothing to the thought and even tended to obscure it was a most insidious fault which he shared

with all contemporary scholastic imitative writers. Moreover, excessive accumulation of synonymous phrases led to a certain clumsiness in sentence structure. In his early writings, overmuch padding often even obscured the meaning and hindered the development of thought. Furthermore, his tendency to use rhymed prose in such excessively padded passages caused that rhymed prose which, when properly used, can be a legitimate and natural ornament of style, and give a work of literature a superior cadence and finish, to become artificial and stilted and obscure. In this period, the meaning literally disappeared under the heavy load of ornament. The figure of speech most in prominence was paronomasia exordium, and Iqtibās from the Qur'ān. As has been stated above, the works recorded in this period are mostly epistles addressed to his friends and colleagues on a variety of occasions. Not even one of them, however, has escaped the devastating effect of his attempts to be exquisitely "artistic". (1)

In the epistles which are characteristic of his prose style in this first period Nadīm uses Iqtibās, coupling his own rhymed phrases with verses from the Qur'ān.(2) He also employs, in this period, "Luzūm mālā Yalzam" in his rhyme, using sometimes two internal rhymes within the main rhyme; (3)

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1. For the epistles of Sulāfah, vol. 1 pp. 24-77
2. See Appendix No. 2, p. 652.
3. Ibid. No. 3, p. 653.

sometimes he even employs three internal rhymes within the chief one,[1] and even increases the number to four internal rhymes![2] It is also characteristic that his epistles in rhymed prose are interspersed with lines of poetry hardly more poetical than the prose in which they are inserted. They are not rich in meaning, so that the entire contents of an epistle of this kind can be often summarised in very few lines. That almost all his writing in this period appears more or less heavy, awkward, clumsy and deprived of grace from the twentieth century point of view, and seems merely a pale imitation of medieval Badī' style, may be due to his relative lack of education, and so may the comparative dearth of meaning. But that is a common complaint of the times: in the great majority of cases neither the men of letters nor their readers had any thoughts worth while expressing, and had, therefore, when they felt the urge to write, only the play of words to resort to.[3] It must, however, be added that the contemporary reader found this style satisfactory to the point of enchantment. In fact, Nadīm was regarded even in this period as a great man of letters for no other merit than his rhyming skill and his mastery of Badī' style which at that time was the ideal of Arabic literature.

To do Nadīm justice, however, it must be stressed that,

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1. Ibid. No.4, p. 653.
2. Ibid. No.5, pp. 653-654.
3. Riḍā, Tārīkh al-Ustādh, vol. i, p. 11; Samīra, op. cit., p.4.

although he was essentially imitative in this period, there are flashes of undoubted innate literary talent also in his early production; especially his ready perception of things and life around him influences his choice of subject matter in a way which is almost modern. In the epistle entitled al-Tannūr al Mashūr[1] whose general subject, namely the conversation between two animated objects boasting of their respective merits (Mufākharah i.e. War of Wits) is quite traditional. The novelty consists in the choice of the objects personified: the train and the boat. The steam engine was a relatively new invention, recently introduced to Egypt, and it was the first time it made its appearance in an Arabic Mufākharah.[2] Moreover, since the classical vocabulary at the time lacked appropriate terms for a detailed description of engine and train, he boldly ventures to use vulgarised foreign words which had become part of the colloquial idiom.[3] This is a very unusual phenomenon in the then still quite scholastic literature. In another epistle, Durar al-Nihlah wa Ghurar al-Rihlah[4] Nadīm feels prompted to express his thoughts in the course of a railway journey to Alexandria. The similes, however, are rather strange, for he compares the train to a sequence of famous knights in Arab history, rushing to fight their enemies.[5] Also a third epistle

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1. For the complete text of the epistle cf. Sulāfah, vol.1, pp. 29-32.
2. Sulāfah, vol. 1, p. 30.
3. Ibid, pp. 31-32.
4. For the complete text of the epistle cf. Ibid, p.39-45.
5. Ibid. p. 39.

entitled Tanbīh al-Labīb wa TTasliyat al-Habīb[1] shows signs of rebellion against the conventional manner of writing. The influence of his environment and daily life becomes apparent in the use of foreign words with which he had become familiar as a telegraphist,[2] a use strictly prohibited according to scholastic principles. These three epistles are typical of Nadīm in this period. They show a man with a traditional background of education, and still in the fetters of an inadequate style which cramps his expression, but of undeniable literary talent, with a keen perception of things surrounding him, bold enough to make certain attempts at innovation such as the introduction of foreign terms and colloquial expressions. He also often departs from the traditional choice of subjects.

Several years of participation in the discussions, lectures and studies with which the members of Jamāl al-Dīn's salon were so vitally concerned brought about a radical change in Nadīm's entire outlook which is mirrored not only in his literary output but in his way of life. Nadīm realised precisely what had been vaguely felt here and there before that strict adherence to the scholastic canons was harmful in the extreme to the easy flow of thought and the clarity of expression; he stepped into the widening breach between "the old" and "the new", and decided in favour of the above mentioned new,

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1. For the complete text of the epistle cf. Ibid. pp. 50-52
2. Cf. Sulāfah, vol. 1 p. 51, Cf. also Appendix, No.6, p. 654.

lucid, "straightforward" and easily intelligible style.(1)

The first symptoms of change in Nadīm's literary personality became observable when Jamāl al-Dīn persuaded him to go to Alexandria to propagate his ideas. Nadīm had ceased to be a boon companion, pandering to the tastes of the rich, anxious to please his audience by ingenious puns and new Badī' figures, and became a man with a mission who had a message to convey and desired to transmit it to his public as clearly and unequivocally as possible. In his articles in Miṣr, al-Tijārah, al-Mahrūsah, al-'Aṣr al-Jadīd and later in Al-Tankīt wa al Tabkīt he broke away from the precepts of the "old" school which decreed that all forms of literary prose should be in Saj' (rhymed prose) bedecked with rhetorical decorations.

Nadīm, once justly praised as a master of Badī' styles, discarded them almost overnight in favour of a new, apparently quite artless way of writing. The adoption of the new style had its roots in a variety of reasons. He realised the fundamentally simple fact that the free flow of speech and writing was the only way of expression suited to the general excitement of agitated souls which had nearly reached boiling point in Egypt at that time and that the would-be medium of political propaganda must be free from the fetters of Badī'. The dynamism of the ideas to be expressed precluded the use of literary forms which, by their very insistence on formal detail,

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1. Ḥamzah, op. cit., Vol. ii, p. 147.

tended to obscure the thought which had now become all-important. The clarity of his artistic insight had led him to recognise that there must be no disparity of term and concept, that forms of expression must be co-extensive with the trends of thought, and that style must have an affinity to its contents. His profoundly altered notion of life, its transformation from a limited, narrowly traditional concept, to the transvalued outlook of the reformer and revolutionary imperatively required a different mode of expression. It was a conscious reaction of his sincere emotion against the elaboration, artificiality and pretentiousness of the style he formerly excelled in, and the vindication of the originally simple, basic character of Arabic before it had been influenced by medieval ornamentation. The dynamism of his nature which was now unequivocally directed towards a simple, but transcendent and all-important goal, found a marvellously suitable expression in the simplicity of his specific lucid "straightforward" style. Nadīm can, indeed, be described, as one of the pioneers of the new "straightforward" style.(1) According to repeated statements by his contemporaries, his style lent itself to imitation, and found scores of followers. "The writers admired his articles and modelled their own work on them to improve the style of literature which, at that time, was emaciated and boring."(2)

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1. Ḥamzah, op.cit., vol. ii, p. 147.
2. Taymūr, op. cit., p. 16; cf. also Samīr, op. cit., p. 9.

Nadīm was aware of the fact that the great mass of the reading public was reluctant to part with the old, ingrained belief that style without Badī' was, from the literary point of view, not quite respectable. This actuated him to point out to his readers that "It [Al-Tankīt] is a literary and educational paper.... with an easily intelligible style which is not scorned by educated people, but easy enough to be understood by the ignorant. To you, it depicts the incidents and the events in a way to appeal to your minds.... It is not decorated with contrived metaphors, nor is it covered with cobwebs of equivocation. It does not boast of resounding words and rhetorical phrases to display the eloquence of its editor... but it is like ordinary speech in a language we are familiar with....It does not compel you to reach for Fīrūzābādī's dictionary....nor do you need an interpreter to comment on its meaning. It is present at your circles as a friend who talks to you in a language you know.... and a boon companion who chats to you of what you love and take pleasure in".(1) Thus it was Nadīm and not, as has been alleged, Jurjī Zaydān,(2) who was the first to write novel and interesting articles in a generally intelligible language, "disregarding the disapproval of pedants and scholastic reactionaries".

It is obvious that Nadīm was fully conscious of the

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1. Al-Tankīt, p. 3.
2. Cf. Gibb, B.S.O.S., Vol.V, p. 313.

fact that, for journalistic purposes, clarity and simplicity were essential. But he could not stop at that, and further progress along the chosen path entailed complications. The aim he had in view was primarily educational and reformatory, and addressed to the widest possible public; but there were many things to be said in pursuit of this aim that could not be said openly under the existing conditions. These things had to be conveyed indirectly, by implication. This was the origin of Nadīm's symbolic, allegorical style whose influence can be traced in the Arabic literature of Egypt up to the present moment.(1) Moreover, Nadīm's journalistic prose frequently contains inserted fragments of dramatic dialogue in which comic characters speak each in its own dialect. "In these articles of eternal value he gave an accurate description of Egypt, and they were, in fact, the first spark of the revolution of thought which resulted in the flame of 'Urābī's revolution".(2)

It is significant that Nadīm, with his background of religious and traditional education, and no doubt considerably handicapped by the disapproval on the part of the intellectuals, was not deterred from writing entire articles in colloquial idiom which was then advocated and used by the modernists. However, there is a marked difference between Nadīm's and the modernists manner of handling the new medium. The modernists

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1. Cf. Jannat al-Ḥayawān by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, (Cairo 1950), all through.
2. Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 92.

regarded colloquial as a literary medium in which they attempted to convey all their thoughts, corrupting classical Arabic or discarding it altogether, while Nadīm only resorted to it in addressing a special class of readers who were unable to understand the classical literary style. To him, the colloquial idiom merely serves a didactic purpose restricted to the uneducated class, and is regarded as a handy instrument to be taken up or abandoned according to the dictates of the moment, but not as an equivalent - or superior - substitute for classical language.

It proves his respect and regard for classical Arabic that he made it one of his professed aims to defend its purity, and even engaged in an argument with the modernists about their indiscriminate use of colloquial. The ranks of the modernists had been reinforced by Syrian immigrants who, educated on Western lines, joined the Egyptian modernists' rebellion against the use of classical Arabic. The opponents in the above mentioned controversy were the Syrians 'Amīn Shumayyil,(1) Shiblī Shumayyil, Najīb Gharghūr and Iskandar Naḥḥās in favour of an introduction of colloquial, and Nadīm, Aḥmad Samīr and Ibrāhīm al-Hilbāwī in defence of classical Arabic.(2) It was Nadīm's article, entitled Iḍā'at al-Lugah Taslīm Lidhdhāt(3) (To Lose One's Language is to Surrender One's Personality) that

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1. Al-Tankīt, pp. 68-70
2. For details Cf. Al-Tankīt, 13.6.1881, pp. 19-21 and 10.7.1881, pp 68-70 and 11.9.1881, pp.203-207; Ṭarrāzī, opcit., vol.iii, pp.12,93; al-'Aṣr al-Jadīd, 9,23,30 August and 13,27 September 1881; Sulāfah, vol.1, pp.92-99; Cheikho, op.cit., vol.ii, p.139.
3. For complete text of article. Cf. Al-Tankīt, 11.9.1881, pp203-207

caused the outbreak of the storm. In this article, Nadīm expounded the reasons why the abandonment of classical Arabic would be followed by disastrous consequences: 1 - Its canons had been laid down by Muslims in reliance on Islamic models, the Qur'ān and the Hadīth, and it was neither feasible nor desirable for literature to sever its links with its Islamic past; 2 - although it was expedient to throw off the accumulated nonsense of centuries, and to adapt the language to new conditions, it was not advisable to vulgarise it, corrupt it or abandon it altogether; 3 - the use of colloquial would divide not only the Muslim world as a whole, but each of the Muslim nations into several parts according to dialectal differences; 4 - to adopt a foreign language as the language of the country - an expedient suggested by a part of the Syrian group - would split every Arab nation into two classes, the educated class, capable of learning and speaking the foreign tongue in question, and the bulk of the population, who would have to persist in the use of their own local dialect; 5 - the adoption of a foreign tongue would be followed by an inevitable change of customs, habits, ways of life and thought, and ultimately result in a loss of national character; in brief, the sum of these consequences would amount to no less than a "surrender of personality".

All through this controversy, Nadīm maintained that Arabic was a mature language, endowed with every quality a

language can possess, and that it was superior to other languages in that it was rich in synonyms which made it easy to cope with all the needs of life.(1) The problem - Nadīm maintained - was not the adequacy of the language, but the ignorance of the people whose command of Arabic was insufficient; Nadīm also stressed the need of preserving the language in its purity, and of studying it more intensively. With these two aims in view, he proposed: 1 - to found schools all over the country through the medium of benevolent societies; 2 - to make the study of Arabic compulsory in every school, be it national or foreign; 3 - to devote to the study of Arabic no less than one third of the total time-table; 4 - to prevent any attempt by foreign teachers to divert their pupils from the love and use of their language.

The most salient characteristic of Nadīm's prose in this period (1879-1881) was a certain exaltation and a specific rhetoric quality which imparted to each of his articles the character of an oration. Oratory incontestably dominated Nadīm's life, influenced all his writings and affected every single article. He wrote as if he were delivering a speech: he made excessive use of interjections, exclamations and oaths,(2) as if he were addressing an imaginary audience.(3) Such was his love of rhetoric and his belief in its power, that he often

1. He was to modify this opinion later.
2. Al-Tankīt, 16.10.1881, pp. 294, 298.
3. Ibid, 15.8.1881, p.155; 21.8.1881, p. 171, 179; 4.9.1881 p.187; 18.9.1881, pp.224; 25.9.1881, p.239; 9.10.1881, p.275; 16.10.1881, p.291.

gave his articles the outward form of speeches either by proclaiming the intention of making a speech or by making one of his characters rise and deliver one.[1] It was his conviction that "talk to which you listen rouses your emotions, but this is not the case when the same idea is read".[2] In the articles of this period, both classical and colloquial, he makes extensive use of anecdotes and dramatic episodes which he finds more effective and more poignant than the simple narrative. Nadīm's dialogue is one of the strongest proofs of his literary talent. The diction of his figures serves the purpose of characterisation, for different types are made to speak in a different manner. Thus the villain of the piece is always characterised by a diction which is full of continuous exaggeration, and is thus made still more repugnant to the reader.

His experience as a teacher cannot fail to be reflected in his literary output; this is especially true of this period. He frequently evokes the picture of a lesson in which the dialogue takes place between a teacher and student. This gives him the opportunity to expound all his social, political and educational ideas, and to anticipate possible objections on the part of the reader by answering questions of the student and allaying his doubts. This particular style has found many

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1. Al-Tankīt, 18.9.1881, p.223; 16.10.1881, p.296.
2. Al-Tankīt, 16.10.1881, p.296.

followers, and has become a lasting feature of Arabic literature;[1] his influence is still vividly observable among Egyptian writers of the present day.

It can be inferred from Nadīm's writings of this period that, in spite of his ignorance of foreign languages, the influence of foreign culture on him was by no means negligible. He had listened to and discussed newly translated Western books in Jamāl al-Dīn's salon, and it is obvious that he must have read similar books by himself. The impact of the ideas of the French revolution is clearly observable in his writings; its three principles liberty, equality, fraternity are frequently referred to, and comparisons between the internal situation of Egypt and that of France after the revolution occur over and over again. Since French influence prevailed in Egypt at that time over that of any other European country, Western influence on Nadīm is synonymous with French influence.[2]

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As has already been stated, Al-Ṭā'if was intended as the continuation of Al-Tankīt from which it, however, differs in character: while Al-Tankīt revels in allegory and symbols and makes extensive use of dialogue and dramatic episodes,

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1. Cf. al-Ayyām by Ṭahā Ḥusayn, (Cairo 1939) all through
2. Cf. Al-Tankīt, pp.128-129, 171, 232-233, 252, 267-272, 277, 294-295, 297-299; Cf. also Ra'īf Khūrī, al-Fikr al-'Arabī al-Ḥadīth, (Beirut 1943) pp.107, 202-204.

Al-Ṭā'if, the voice of the revolution and the organ of the national assembly, is written in a characteristic mixture of narrative and oratory in which rhetoric predominates. This style is extraordinarily poignant and abounds in powerful words which obviously echo the turmoil in his own heart, and are aimed at generating it in the hearts of others. With its vigorous revolutionary diction "Al-Ṭa'if reached a position unrivalled by any other contemporary paper, not only with regard to political standards, but with regard to diction. In this paper, Nadīm was a hot-headed genius of style".(1) The character of Al-Ṭā'if being exclusively political, its style is at first predominantly rational, discursive, dialectic and argumentative. Its reasoning is never shallow, and at times of astonishing profundity. Its strongly logical, syllogistic sequence of sentences, is, however, often interrupted by ejaculations, exhortations and protestations which betray his strong inclination towards oratory, whenever he defends the rights of his country and propagates his beliefs. The vigour and simplicity of his journalistic style, the avoidance of fictitious ornament and his simultaneous insistence on the strength of proof and logic of inference won him the admiration of his readers and a numerous following among fellow journalists. As has been repeatedly stated, the Egyptian press quoted and imitated him continuously. The

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1. Ibrāhīm 'Abduh, A'lām, al-Ṣaḥāfah al-'Arabiyyah, (Cairo 1944), p.147.
2. ~~See Chapter III, pp.~~

popularity of his style was not limited to press and literary circles; there is documentary evidence to show that statesmen quoted him in their speeches and interviews.(1) It was, to a certain extent, the extraordinary popularity of the emotional, vigorous style of Al-Ṭā'if that made "Abd Allāh Nadīm, its owner, the leader of the movement of thought, for he kindled with his articles...the fire of the revolution in the hearts of his countrymen....".(2) His magnetic power of persuasion enabled him to achieve, in these articles, what no other paper had been able to do before, namely to sway the minds of the people and make them do what he wanted them to do.(3)

However, the split between the Khedive and the national movement and the imminent war could not fail to affect the character of Al-Ṭā'if. As has been earlier described in detail, it now became Nadīm's first objective to mobilise the hatred of the country against the Khedive, the entire royal dynasty and the clique which surrounded the sovereign; he knew instinctively that the best way of doing so was to make them appear ridiculous. His satires against Ismā'īl as well as against Tawfīq were a remarkable novelty in Arabic journalism. Nothing like these satirical series had ever before appeared in Arabic journalism.(4) When, however, his attack turned

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1. See above pp. 203-204.
2. Ṭarrāzī, op.cit.,vol.iii,p.5;cf.also Ya'qūb Sanwa' as quoted by 'Abduh, al-Ṣaḥafī al-Thā'ir, p.120
3. Zaydān, Mashāhīr,vol.ii, p.109
4. For specimens see above pp. 80-83.

against the British, satire alone seemed insufficient and he resorted to sermons, invective and harangues. Al-Ṭā'if became a simgle war cry. It was now his sole purpose to mobilise, with his pen, the country for a fight against the British. Profundity of meaning and even logic of reasoning had to yield priority to emotion whose sometimes even exaggerated expression relegated everything else into the background. Nadīm had obviously no time to spare for a revision of his articles.

It has been stated above that his prose acquired, with his attack on the British, many of the characteristics of a sermon; when the war broke out, these characteristics began to predominate almost to the exclusion of everything else. He preached to the people as if he were addressing a congregation from the pulpit of the mosque, using Iqtibās (epigraphs) from the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth. Therefore his journalistic style of this period is exclusively sermonising and oratorical. For its effect, Nadīm is indebted to no carefully chosen literary art, but to the superior power of psychological insight; he looks within himself, and puts down on paper, with perfect sincerity, his own bitter and fiery thoughts. This is the secret of the success of his war propaganda. At that particular time, he always wrote on the spur of the moment, which made his prose uneven in quality and at times so like everyday speech that it was almost colloquial.

If the quality of his style suffered in the period of the war, it must be borne in mind that its only aim was that it should be effective and serve its purpose in its time as well as it could. In this point he was fully successful; events prove it sufficiently. Of course, the literary value of these articles - as distinguished from their historical value as documents of the Anglo-Egyptian war of 1882 - is almost non-existent.

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His journalistic style underwent another change with the appearance of Al-Ustādh (1892-1893). The effect of the long studies which had been his main pastime during the ten years of his retreat began to make itself felt. The wide range of subjects covered during the decade spent in the wilderness had filled a number of gaps in his until then somewhat defective education; Western culture, which had reached him through the intermediary of his friend the Khawājah, and the numerous translations, mainly from English sources, which were generally accessible during the occupation, had introduced a new element into the ferment of ideas, broadened his mind and widened his general outlook.

Since, in Al-Ustādh, the main function of his style had again become didactic, he reverted, after the demagogic style of the war years, to a smooth and palatable prose style, capable of expressing systematic thought. His vocabulary, enriched by ten years of contemplative study, facilitated the task of conveying his ideas in natural, direct and appropriate terms without the sacrifice of literary sense and grace. The ideas developed in Al-Ustādh which represented the aftermath of the war years as well as the outcome of a long, undisturbed period of reflection, were expounded in a long series of treatises and articles whose language and style sounded a new note in contemporary journalism. The blend of the strength and colour of classical Arabic - with the flexibility of everyday idiom, was masterly. Also, when dealing with conceptions, he was in the habit of going into great detail and harnessing every available argument in support of his statement; this method of expounding ideas lent great emphasis to the final conclusion, and carried more conviction than simple reasoning.

The clarity of thought, the logically consistent though sometimes lengthy presentation of subject matter, all possessed an immediate appeal to the public. People read his articles with pleasure, finding in them what most delighted their hearts. There they read in lucid, well chosen and easy language their own wishes and their own thoughts. "The fame of Al-Ustādh reached a degree no other paper had ever reached

before,[1] for it "influenced...every class and every religious community to an extent which impelled everybody to read it."[2] It is interesting to note that even Nadīm's enemies[3] did justice to his literary calibre: "I must bear witness to the fact that he has the right taste, and I admire his straightforward, flowing style; when I read his article Law Kuntum Mithlanā Lafa'altum Fi'lanā[4] in Al-Ustādh[5] I found that eloquence is part of his nature".

In brief, the characteristics of Al-Ustādh style can be summarised as follows:

1 - the length of the articles, exceeding - perhaps owing to English influence[6] - that of any other Arabic journalistic essays of that time;

2 - his article has the outward appearance of a speech, caused by the repetition of interjections, exclamations and stereotyped phrases,[7] comparable to ancient Greek discourses;

3 - long digressions from the chosen subject matter on the lines of the famous al-Jāḥiẓ, to whet the appetite of the reader;

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1. Samīr, op.cit., p.17.
2. Tarrāzī, op.cit., vol.iii, p.85; Taymūr, op.cit., p.17.
3. Waliyy al-Dīn Yakan was Nadīm's political adversary, for, while Nadīm's principle was "Egypt for the Egyptians" that of Yakan was "Egypt for Turkey" cf. Yakan, op.cit., vol.1, p.30.
4. Al-Ustādh, pp.507-533; See above pp. 440-447.
5. Yakan, op.cit., vol.1, pp.28,29.
6. In nineteenth century England, there was a tax on news, but none on articles which therefore became inordinately long.
7. Cf. Al-Ustādh, pp.507-533.

4 - frequent use of juxtaposition, comparison and contrast; East and West, past and present, Islam and Christianity for the illustration of social and political problems;

5 - interpolation of sentences into sentences, resulting in long intricate periods; he expatiates on his theme, also in the manner of al-Jāḥiẓ, without, however, becoming verbose or impairing the lucidity of his style.

No further evidence is needed for the popularity, influence, efficacy and effect of Nadīm's style than the abrupt termination of Al-Ustādh and the expulsion of Nadīm.

A decade after the British seized power in Egypt, that is to say a decade after the breakdown of the national movement, Nadīm revived the controversy between the adherents of "the old" and "the new" in literature. The extreme left wing of the modernists had meanwhile assumed a new shape. The initially small faction among Egyptian modernists which was in favour of the abandonment of classical Arabic as the language of schools and literature, had been strengthened by the influx of increasing numbers of Syrians, most of whom had come to Egypt in pursuit of occupation in the service of the British.(1) However, instead of insisting on replacing classical Arabic by colloquial, as they had done before the war, they now advocated the adoption of English as the language of the country, a

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1. Cf. Hartmann, op.cit., pp.11,31.

dangerous movement whose hidden aim it was to anglicise Egypt completely.[1] Thus, when Fārir Nimrin in al-Muqaṭṭam and Willcox[2] in the periodical al-Azhar embarked on an attack on classical Arabic, the former declared himself in favour of the adoption of English as the future language of the country while the latter, somewhat strangely, suggested a reform of Arabic in reliance on the existing colloquial idiom. Nadīm obviously could not remain idle in face of such a threat to the language of his country and his religion, and engaged on a violent polemic against these dangerous proposals. When he proceeded to an attack against these two enemies of the language, he did it in reliance on the following arguments:

1 - The Arabic language had been the medium through which the ancient Greco-Roman civilisation had been transmitted to the world and saved from total extinction; it would now be equally capable of expressing the fruits of the new Western Culture - proof of that was the numerous translations from Western languages since Muḥammad 'Alī's time;[3]

2 - The foreigners (i.e. the British) are merely actuated by love for their own language, which they consider to be superior to any other, and therefore want to stamp out all

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1. Cf. al-Muqaṭṭam, 25.5.1893; Al-Ustādh, pp 169-170, 469.
2. Cf. Blunt, My Diaries, vol.1, pp.111, 112; Al-Ustādh, pp.468, 506-507.
3. Cf. Al-Ustādh, pp.30, 31, 170, 174, 178-179, 467-469, 473.

other languages to separate other peoples from their past.(1)

3 - The Arabic language, indissolubly connected with Arab Egypt and Islam, could only be eliminated at the risk of their complete destruction.(2)

4 - The Arabs and Turks had tolerated the language of the countries they subjugated so that the conquered preserved their national character, a fact that enabled them to break away from the Arab world and the Turkish empire at the first opportunity; their example had taught Europe a lesson, and she was reluctant to exercise similar tolerance, a tactical error which could cost her her colonial empire.(3) Thus to eliminate national languages was the first objective of colonialism.(3)

5 - The political defeat of a nation could not be the consequence of the inadequacy of its language, as his Syrian opponents contended; on the contrary, only a nation which held fast to its language and, consequently, to its national character, could regain its liberty and strengthen its political position as Persia had done under the Arabs, and under the Turks.(4)

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1. Ibid, pp.179, 244.
2. Ibid, pp.178-179, 204.
3. Al-Ustādh, pp.341-342.
4. Ibid, p. 469.

6 - Europe's motives in her attempt to destroy the Arabic language were not wholly political; the ultimate aim was to destroy Islam by destroying the Qur'ān.(1)

7 - A language was not only the instrument of administration and trade, to be changed to suit the changing rulers, as al-Muqattam seemed to believe; on the contrary, if the administrators or traders were British or French, it is they who should learn Arabic to be able to communicate with the nation:(2)

8 - Colloquial cannot be adapted for literary purposes, since it has neither codified grammar nor rules, and differs from locality to locality; moreover, why did the English and French not write their literary, scientific and philosophic books in colloquial? And if the idea of replacing the classical language by colloquial was good, as Mr.Willcox maintained, why did he not propagate the introduction of a similar reform in England?(3)

But even in this fervent defence of the language, Nadīm was neither so intransigent as he had been at the time of the first controversy with the Syrians in Al-Tankīt, nor so narrow-mindedly rigid as the scholars of the traditional type led, at that time, by Shaykh Ḥamzah Fatḥallah(4) "who

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1. Ibid,p.469,470,471.
2. Ibid,,pp.470-471.
3. Ibid, p.471.
4. (died 1918); for many years chief inspector of Arabic in government schools and a leading literary figure.

loved the Arabs and the Arabic tongue and considered that God had endowed it with every distinction (maziyah), that every form of modern civilisation which was now being revived had been anticipated by the Arabs, and that its name had a synonym in their language".(1) He was not blind to the benefit of teaching a foreign language as a subsidiary language in schools to facilitate communication with Western countries, and to benefit by foreign culture.(2) He was broadminded enough to welcome foreign loan-words and scientific technical terms and phrases without equivalent in Arabic, and consequently advocated, in Al-Ustādh, the formation of al-Mujtama' al-Lughawī(3) on the model of the Académie Française, whose purpose it would be to derive new terms from classical Arabic and, in the absence of suitable roots, adapt foreign words according to Arabic language rules. In fact, as has been said above, he was the first to demand the foundation of such an institution, and actually found response among some 'Ulamā' and learned men, with al-Sayyid Tawfīq al-Bakrī at the head, who founded the Mujtama'(4) in 1893. This committee, however, was short-lived, and Nadīm's conception did not materialise until 1932 when an official body of this kind was called into being.(5)

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1. From al-Wasīṭ by Aḥmad al-Iskandarī, pp.339-342, as quoted by Gibb, B.S.O.S., vol.iv, p.753.
2. Al-Ustādh, pp.14,183,204,220,262,473.
3. Cf. Ibid, pp. 183,204,673,675,683.
4. Al-Ustādh, p.673, 675-783.
5. Cf. al-Iskandarī, al-Mufaṣṣal, vol.ii, p.332.

It must be borne in mind that, although Nadīm solemnly renounced the artificiality of Badī' devices in his period of journalistic activity which extended over the years 1879-1893, and even denounced the writers using them as "intruders into the literary craft who rely on these devices and puns, neglecting the meaning; such a manner standing in no relation to real eloquence"(1), he still, subconsciously perhaps, cherished the Badī' style in the depth of his heart. Thus, whenever he was writing for his own pleasure and indulging in art for art's sake, and the emotional tone of his writing rose, he fell automatically into rhymed prose.

Not only the numerous epistles to his friends in the country as well as abroad, but even the historical treatises of this period are written in Badī' style. Thus the third volume of Kān wa Yakūn, entitled Tārīkh Miṣr, is composed entirely in rhymed prose. This book contains, in general outline, the history of Egypt from the reign of Sa'īd Pasha - the first ruler to encourage the emancipation of the fellahin - until the collapse of the national movement and the fall of 'Urābī. His main reason for choosing rhymed prose lay pre-

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(1) 'Abd Allāh Nadīm, 'Adab Ramadān (Cairo 1893), p. 32.

sumably in the state of high emotional tension in which he must inevitably have found himself when he gave an account of the revolution one of whose leaders he had been; the second, that it was conceived as an epistle to 'Urābī to whom it is dedicated, and he was in the habit of writing epistles without exception in rhymed prose.(1) An additional reason for the choice of rhymed prose is that he had sufficient leisure, in his retreat, to think, to revise, to choose words and metaphors. The effect of the use of rhymed prose in a scientific book of this kind is not only not unpleasing, but at times extremely prepossessing, which imparts to his diction a melodious cadence and a charmingly artistic finish. This book as well as the epistles are an excellent vindication of the opinion of those who regard rhymed prose as a legitimate ornament of Arabic style when it is properly used i.e., natural and not exaggerated. They are reminiscent of the Golden Age of Badī' style in the days of Badī' al-Zamān and his school, before exaggeration got a strong hold, and decadence set in.

Equally in rhymed prose is Al-Masāmīr, the satire directed against his powerful enemy Abū al-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī, whom he lashes with bitter invective. Here again, rhymed prose is the expression of a highly emotional state of mind. Al-Masāmīr is the best example of Nadīm's Badī' style. It

1. Only one epistle, written to the Khawājah, is in straightforward style, cf. Kān wa Yakūn, vol.1, p.12.

is a brilliant masterpiece of the artistic style, a jewel of its kind, and reminiscent of the heyday of al-Maqāmāt. Both the rhymed prose and Badī' figures are elegant and graceful without being contrived. Composed on the model of al-Maqāmāt, it is by no means a copy or slavish imitation. It differs characteristically from al-Maqāmāt in that each Mismār (Nail) is not a self-contained story like a Maqāmāh, but an episode of an intended larger whole. In contrast to al-Maqāmāt, it is not meant to be witty or funny; it is a bitter satire, a vicious personal attack, full of obscene words and gross abuse. Another point of difference between Al-Masāmīr and al-Maqāmāt is that while all Maqāmāt are in the same vein, that is to say are funny or witty all through, not all the "Nails" are similar, that is to say they are not all satires. Some are scientific disquisitions on theological subjects. Three Mismārs especially are new and original in Arabic literature from the point of view of both style and subject matter. In the first of them, he gives an account of the rebellion of Satan and his dispute with God over Adam,(1) the second is a kind of polemic between Satan and the Prophet Muḥammad, concerning Muḥammad's prophetic mission in which the Prophet Muḥammad replies to the provoking questions of Satan by quotations from the Qur'ān.(2) The third theological treatise in the form of a "Nail" is also a dispute between

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1. For the complete text of this Mismār cf. Al-Masāmir, pp.13-19; also see Appendix No. 7 pp. 654-655.

2. See Appendix No.8, pp.655-6; for the complete text of this Mismār, cf. Al-Masāmīr pp.63-73.

Satan and Muḥammad in which the latter proves by Iqtibās (epigraphs) from the Qur'ān the dogma of the unity and individuality of God.(1) All the non-satirical parts admirably combine refinement and dignity of style with entertaining jests. The whole is interspersed with exhortations, Iqtibās from the Qur'ān and lines of poetry, adorned with choice metaphors, rich in literary elegancies and jewels of eloquence. Al-Masāmīr, however, has that in common with Risālat al-Tawābi' wa al-Zawābi'(2) of the Andalusian Ibn Shuhayd that it introduces into the story superhuman beings who are presented in a series of imaginary conversations with human beings - in the case of Al-Masāmīr God and Satan - on the subject of certain doctrinal points of Islam, while Ibn Shuhayd imagines, in his Risālah, a series of interviews with the jinnīs who inspired the great poets of the past. Al-Masāmīr is also similar to Risālat al-Ghufrān of Abu al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī who wrote his Risālah eight years after Ibn Shuhayd, imagining in it, more daringly, a visit to heaven and hell to interview the poets themselves. It must be stressed, however, that Nadīm is entirely orthodox in his beliefs, while Abū al-'Alā' is an agnostic and heretic. Nadīm is original in that he introduces God, Satan and Muḥammad as characters into his story, and in his reliance on the Qur'ān to support his arguments.

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1. See Appendix, No.9, pp.656-7; for complete text of the Mismār, cf. Al-Masāmīr, p. 73-84.
2. For details cf. al-Iskandarī, al-Mufaṣṣal, vol.ii, pp. 154-158.

Most conversations revolve around Islamic articles of faith. However, Al-Masāmīr contains no consistent philosophic system; to form a general idea of his opinions, one must first collate notions which are incoherently scattered through a long succession of rhymes.

Characteristic of Al-Masāmīr is a certain approach to dramatic style and the striking circumstance that the story runs, like a red thread, through all the otherwise separate anecdotes with the intention of joining them into a whole. If it had been completed, Al-Masāmīr would have become a novel, consisting of several chapters.

It detracts greatly from the immediate literary significance of Al-Masāmīr whose serious parts are marvels of stylistic excellence and specimens of the artistic style at its best, that Nails 3,4,5,6,(1) which represent the satire proper, contain obscenely abusive passages which would condemn any writer, too vulgar to be introduced into any work of criticism, and too offensive to be quoted even in small samples. Whatever the hostility between him and Abū al-Hudā may have been, there is no justification for Nadīm's writing in a language which, for sheer obscenity, has no parallel in Arabic literature; the shame he brought on himself by writing these passages exceeds the shame to which it exposed Abū al-Hudā. Nor is it less strange that he connected these offensive

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1. Al-Masāmīr, from p. 19 to p.63.

passages with pious reflections and exalted theological treatises. However, the introduction to the work written by its publisher, Sharīf WN.H.M., who was himself an enemy of Abū al-Hudā, is composed in a style so similar to the four satirical Mismārs that it could easily be mistaken for Nadīm's own. This fact suggests a solution which, if correct, would partly exculpate Nadīm. As the book was published after Nadīm's death, it is not impossible that its publisher, prompted by the hatred of their common enemy, profited by the fact that the author was dead and added to the abusive passages, so that some of the most offensively vulgar ones may have come from his and not from Nadīm's pen.

As has been earlier mentioned, Nadīm wrote, in 1880, two plays, Al-ʿArab and Al-Waṭan, but only a few pages of the latter are preserved which is obviously not sufficient to judge of his merits as a playwright.

Fragmentary as it is, the play Al-Waṭan, is interesting in that it is one of the earliest experiments in the history of Arabic drama. Like all early experiments, exposition is primitive, it is reminiscent of the early morality plays of Medieval Europe.

It can be aptly termed a dramatic sketch. The meagre fragment preserved is not indicative of the plot; the three incomplete scenes extant have hardly any plot at all. In the first scene, Al-Waṭan (The Nation) in a desolate state meets in succession representatives of the Egyptian

society: peasants, city dwellers and civil servants.

Being portrayed as representatives of a decadent social, moral and intellectual order, they are all deaf to Al-Waṭan's comments and his repeated request to them to educate their children so that a better standard of living can be achieved. Finally, the patriot 'Izzat decides to obey the exhortations of Al-Waṭan to found a school where the children of the poor are educated.

The second scene implies that the school has been built and that everybody's views about education are changed.

The play ends with an epilogue, in classical verse, where the Khedive and his Ministers (who attend the performance) are highly praised for the help they give their people.

The play has no central figure, and the various characters scarcely even pretend to be individuals. They are static types or even images of certain social classes. They have no psychological motivations and have no experience beyond the speeches given to each. But for a few quick realistic touches concerning their social status and the decadent state of things, they would be utterly lifeless.

The play represents an interesting experiment with language. As a rule serious drama was written, and in most cases, is still being written in classical Arabic. In his dramatic sketch, Nadīm endows his dialogue with naturalistic touches by using every day speech which lends colour to the

play. In contrast with the language of the first two scenes that of the epilogue is written in classical verse.

Nadīm's didactic tendency makes itself felt not only in the form, but also in the contents of the play. Al-Waṭan appears as a teacher who conveys knowledge in an acceptable and most pleasant way. His aim is to stimulate the spectator's mind and awaken his conscience.

In this play he attacks the existing state of things which he denounces as vicious, useless or foolish. He opposes the extremes of imitation of Western ways, and, looking round, witnessing the many follies in the general conduct of life, urges people to remedy the abuses by emphasising the vital rôle of education.

NADĪM AND POETRY

The revival of poetry within the Renaissance movement in Egypt is posterior to that of prose; in fact, there is little trace of it before the war of 1882. As has been stated above, three distinct schools of poetry are discernible at the time of the Renaissance:

1 - the imitative poetry of the traditional scholastic group;

2 - the colloquialised poetry of the extreme modernists, characterised by its complete disregard for the tradition of the Qaṣīdah;

3 - the moderate group whose poetry is modelled on the classical poetry of the Golden Age. Progressive as he may be in other respects, Nadīm as a poet - if he can be described as a poet at all - must be regarded as belonging to the traditional school.

He wrote three Dīwāns of poetry in three different periods of his life: one goes back to his first contemplative period, 1860-1878; the second falls into the first of the two periods of social and political activity, 1879-1882; the third, Tarṣī' al-Mās fī Khayr al-Nās, was composed during his second contemplative period (i.e. during his retreat, 1882-1892).(1) The three Dīwāns, reputed to have consisted of 17,000 lines, are unfortunately lost. What has survived.

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1. Cf. Al-Ustādh, p. 88.

of his poetry amounts to no more than 1060 lines recorded in Al-Tanḳīt, Al-Ṭā'if and Al-Ustādh, and in the books Kān wa Yakūn, Al-Masāmīr and the posthumously published collection of his writings, entitled Sulāfat al-Nadīm. This represents quantitatively too small a percentage of the whole to form the basis of a correct assessment of its quality. Although, the extant fragments consist of specimens of poetry from different periods of his life, only one of the odes has been completely preserved; this is, obviously, not sufficient to form an accurate opinion of the literary value of Nadīm's poetry. However, so much can be stated with certainty that Nadīm's poetic work does not equal the standard of his prose. While his prose style developed after he had joined the moderate group, and exhibits all the characteristics of the typical evolution away from the imitative method to a moderately modern manner of writing, his poetry remains, in both style and form, stationary all through his life, so that specimens of the last period do not differ, materially, from his earliest attempts, though they may differ from them, to some extent, in their outward appearance. The only criterion by which they are distinguishable is that, in the poetry of his later years, the wider scope of his intellect, broadened by experience and continuous growth of knowledge, results in greater ease and lucidity of expression. The fact that Nadīm never really freed himself from the traditional conception of poetry, and never threw off completely inherited

medieval mannerisms, which often makes him conventional and weak. What is preserved of his poetry consists mainly of panegyrics and eulogies, personal satire, descriptions, aphorisms and artificial pleasure songs, in all of which hackneyed comparisons, hyperbolas, puns, chronograms on names and occasions and other verbal fireworks vainly try to make up for lack of continuity in mood and imagery. He has an undeniable gift for prosody and is a pastmaster of metrical composition, but the flight of emotion so characteristic of his prose is lacking in his poetry to such a degree that it is often little more than a common versifier. Even in his attempts to follow the models of the Golden Age he fails to come up to the standard of real poetry. This makes it somewhat difficult to account for the undeniable reputation as a great poet he enjoyed among his contemporaries.(1) To understand this fact it must be borne in mind that they judged him by standards entirely different from those of the twentieth century. The reasons for the discrepancy between the contemporary and the modern valuation of the poetry of Nadīm lies in the change of criteria, i.e. simply a change of taste. In his own time and environment, a man who succeeded in pleasing his audience, who could give witty

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1. Cf. Samīr, op.cit.,pp.4.5.20-22; Taymūr, op.cit.,, pp.3,5, 28-30; Zaydān, Mashāhīr, vol.ii, pp. 106, 112; also Tārīkh, Ādāb, vol. IV. pp 210-211; al-Hilāl, 15.10, and 15.11.1893 and 15.1.1894; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiʿī, Shuʿarā' al-Waṭaniyyah (Cairo 1954), pp.13-17.

brilliant repartees and take up every challenge to emulate great poets of the past, was himself considered a great poet - although the audience was hardly able to judge whether the attempt was successful. It is related that when Nadīm was challenged, in Shāhīn Pasha's salon in Ṭanṭā in 1877, to compose a poem on the meaning and in the metre of Mutanabbī's famous Qaṣīdah:

أَقَلُّ فِعَالِي بَلْهَ أَكْثَرُهُ مَجْدُ ∴ وَذَا الْجِدُّ فِيهِ نِلْتُ أَوْلَمْ أَنَلْ جَدُّ

وَمِنْ نَكَدِ الدُّنْيَا عَلَى الْحُرِّ أَنْ يَرَى ∴ عَدُوًّا لَهُ مَا مِنْ صَدَاقَتِهِ بُدُّ

"Nadim with a gesture of defiance unsheathed his pen and wrote a Qaṣīdah[1] in the same rhyme and metre, and on the same theme.[2] A man who was able, at a moment's notice, to write on al-Mutanabbī's meaning in al-Mutanabbī's rhyme and metre, could not but be considered his equal at that time. His environment believed that poetry was no more than brilliancy and wit, for it was before everything the art of words and verbal ornament and a skilful answer to a challenge".[3]

Nadīm more than satisfied these requirements. He was sweet of tongue, a past-master of puns, brilliant in improvisation and quick of repartee, and capable of versifying, at a moment's notice, on any imaginable subject. Since, according

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1. Samīr, op.cit., pp.5-6; cf. also Taymūr, op.cit., p.29.
2. See Appendix, No., 12, pp.658-659.
3. Al-'Aqqād, Shu'rā Miṣr, p. 22.

to the ideas of his time, poetry was "a verbal contest, a controversy in words, quick, skilful answer and improvisation"[1], Nadīm the poet stood high in the esteem of his contemporaries. When, in 1893, the periodical al-Hilāl announced a kind of public poll with the purpose of naming the best three Egyptian poets, Nadīm drew a greater number of votes than any other contestant, for he figured in most of the answers.[2] This proves conclusively that he was considered, in his day and age, as one of the greatest poets of Egypt. The opinion of one of the readers is especially indicative of contemporary taste: "In my opinion, it is Nadīm who is the best poet, for he is a master of elegant similes and comparisons with the newly invented European machines, and is skilful in decorating his poetry with Badī' devices".[3] Another reader thus justifies his choice: "One of the reasons why I prefer him to others as one of the top three is that, when he was challenged on one occasion to describe in a poem two beauties, one called Būlīnā and the other Rūsīnā, he said immediately:

حَارِ بِينَا مِنَ الْقَوَارِمِ جِهَارًا ∴ وَاتْرُكِينَا فَبِالْغَرَامِ بُولِينَا
لَوْ غَنَمْنَا مِنَ الْمَلَاحِ وِصَالاً ∴ مَا فُتِنَّا بِطَبْيَةٍ وَرُزِينَا(4)

This pun was admirably suited to the mentality of his age.

Unlike his prose, his poetry did not go with the

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1. Al-'Aqqād, Shu'rā' Miṣr, p. 89.
2. Cf. al-Hilāl, 15,10 and 15,11.1893 and 15.1.1894.
3. Cf. Ibid, 15.11.1893.
4. Al-Hilāl, 15.1.1894.

times and become modern in form. Nor did it develop along the lines of the moderate group by going back to the models of the Golden Age. On the contrary, it remained, all through his life, merely a means of displaying his erudition by adorning his versification with Badī' devices such as exordium, paronomasia, antithesis, equivocation, exaggeration, peroration etc., The only point of difference between the poetry of his adolescent years and that of mature days is that the quality of the poetic form improves parallel with the growth of his knowledge in the course of years. The subject matter, however, invariably remains the same.

The main weakness of the poetry of his first period is its characteristic artificiality; he exhausts his strength by the pursuit of verbal niceties; Badī' reigns supreme in each of his poems.(1) He is fond of Tashṭīr and Takhmīs,(2) playing with words and displaying his skill in versification. It must be admitted that Nadīm was the first to introduce the inventions of the industrial age into poetry. Thus he makes the steam train the subject of a poem as early as 1874;(3) This does not, however, entail any change of form.

The amount of poetry recorded from the second period of his life (1879-1881) is rather meagre. The prevalent

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1. Cf. Sulāfah, vol. i, p. 130
2. For specimens of his poems in this period of Sulāfah, vol.I, p.29,39,50,76,130-132 and vol. ii, p.129-130.
3. See Appendix, No. 14 p. 659.

influence observable in this period is that of Jamāl al-Dīn which results in the addition of didactic elements to the traditional subject matter, again without any modification of the form.(1)

In spite of all the statements to the contrary, Nadīm was by no means the poet of the revolution. Although he was, in the third period of his life, (1881-1882) the chief propagandist of the national movement, there is almost no echo of the revolution in his poems. Even the few lines composed on the actual field of battle and recorded in Al-Ṭā'if betray that he was unable to express his feelings in poetic form. Real talent for poetry, the magnetic touch which in some mysterious way infallibly establishes a relationship between poet and reader, is in Nadīm's poems conspicuous by its absence. The Qaṣīdah he improvised on the battlefield furnishes ~~the~~ incontrovertible proof that Nadīm never quite succeeded in becoming a poet.(2)

In his second contemplative period (1882-1892), that is to say, at the time of his retreat, his poetic output consisted mainly of eulogies on the Prophet and his family to which he himself traced back his descent, of appeals to God, the Prophet Muḥammad and the Prophet's family to help him in his plight and of complaints about his fate. Although

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1. See Appendix, No.15, p. 659-660.
2. See Appendix, No.16, p. 660-661.

he inclines to mysticism, and even imitates the great poets of the Golden Age, he fails to free himself from the shackles of Badī'. In a love poem written in this period he makes extensive use of newly coined scientific terms, but only to display his skill of playing with words, whatever they may be.(1) Imitating the famous Lāmiyyat al-'Ajam Qaṣidah of the great Tughrā'ī which begins with:

أَصَالَةُ الرَّأْيِ صَانَتْنِي عَنِ الخَطَلِ ∴ وَحِلْيَةُ الفَضْلِ زَانَتْنِي لَدَى العَطَلِ (2)

Nadīm completely fails to reach the standard of his model.(3) When he imitates the great Mu'allaqah of 'Amr Ibn Kulthūm, he virtually plagiarises it; the only change he makes is the addition of some Badī' devices It is needless to say that the result is not to the advantage of the poem.(4) However, in the only complete Qaṣīdah extant and the only Qaṣīdah in which he is completely original and entirely free from Badī' restrictions, perhaps because it is conceived on the lines of a song, Nadīm has succeeded in producing an easy flow of clear and lucid verses.(5)

In the fifth period of Nadīm's life which coincides with the second phase of the development of the national

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1. See Appendix No. 17, p. 661.
2. For details cf. Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Zayyāt, Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī (Cairo 1942), pp. 281-283; al-Iskandarī, al-Wasīṭ, pp. 282-284.
3. See Appendix No. 18, p.p. 661-662.
4. See Appendix, No. 19, p.p. 662-663.
5. See Appendix, No. 20, p. 663.

movement (1892-1893) in which he played a leading role, the general character of his poetry remained unchanged. Had Nadīm had a genuine talent for poetry, the ten year period spent in study and contemplation which had such a great effect on his prose would have given it depth, and the emotionally tinged participation in the second phase of the national movement would have fertilised it. The fact is, however, that it remained shallow and curiously detached from the political turmoil in him and around him. Only once did he use poetry as a means of propaganda for the national movement, but even here his primary aim was not to propagate his nationalist ideas, but to satirise the owners of al-Muqaṭṭam[1] who were the enemies of the national movement.

It is necessary to mention that Nadīm introduced, in this period, a new original feature into Arabic poetry, by modifying the traditional ways:

1 - by abandoning the principle of the Qāfiyah of the ode which decrees that it should be composed in one rhyme throughout;

2 - by conceiving each line of the poem as a self-contained semantic unit;

3 - by abandoning the unity of metre obligatory for the Arabic Qaṣīdah.

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1. Cf. Al-Ustādh, pp. 564-567.

As he announced in the introduction, he intended to begin the lines of the poem with letters of the alphabet in their normal alphabetical order, and to terminate the lines with successive letters of the alphabet. But, while the initial letter remains the same for 29 lines, the final letter, which constitutes the Qāfiyah, is replaced in each consecutive line by the next letter in alphabetical succession. 29 lines of the poem, each beginning with a, end in a,b,t,th,g,etc., until they reach y, when he begins a new set of lines with the initial letter b, and proposes to continue thus in strict rotation until the initial letters exhaust the whole alphabet. To show his virtuosity in improvisation, he also announced that each of the ten difficult letters in the Arabic alphabet th, kh, dh, z, sh, ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ẓ, gh, would be followed, after the completion of the normal pattern, by twenty additional lines, a procedure which would make the entire Diwan, called Alif Bā li Muṭārahat al-Alibbā, 1041 lines long if completed.(1) However, Nadīm only finished the first two sets of lines with the initial letters a and b, for he was exiled before he could carry out this interesting project. In fact, it is not an entirely novel idea, for Ibn al-Rūmī (died 896) attempted, before him, to create a new introspective and analytical poetry, in which each poem developed a single theme in an organic unity.(2) The same curious device was

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1. For more details cf. Al-Ustādh, pp 998-1002
2. Cf. The Encyclopaedia of Islam vol. 1, p.592(1958)

also used before him by 'Abd Allāh Pasha Fikrī who did not apply it, however, to an original poem of his own composition, but collected existing lines of Arabic poetry and arranged them in this peculiar order. Nadīm's poem is more or less on the lines of al-'Urtuqiyyāt of Ṣafiyy al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d.1349) with the difference, however, that the 'Urttuqiyyāt consist of 29 Qaṣīdahs, eulogising the dynasty of 'Urtuq (663-712 A.H.), each Qaṣīdah beginning and ending with one of the consecutive letters of the Arabic alphabet;[1] besides, the latter divides the lines into questions and answers.

All the poetry composed by Nadīm in the last period of his life (1893-1896) is contained without exception in Al-Masāmīr. In spite of the impediment of Badī' style, it has the merit of an easy flow of expression. None of the verses are intended to form an independent poem, but are interspersed in the satire to enhance its effect. From the viewpoint of subject matter, this poetry is divided into two distinct groups. The first, entirely satirical in character, is marred by vulgar abuse and obscene language, while the second surpasses in quality any other poetry Nadīm had ever written. The most outstanding of his Qaṣīdahs is the one in which Satan describes the miracles of the Qur'ān.[2] The

1. For details about the 'Urtuqiyyāt, cf. al-Zayyāt, op.cit., pp. 404-405.
2. See Appendix, No. 31, pp. 670-671.

rest of the verses pronounced by Satan is concerned with Abū al-Hudā, expounding the Satan's ways of tempting humanity and leading it astray which have now been surpassed by Abū al-Hudā, warning the Muslims against the latter's wickedness, or complaining of his defeat by this paragon of all vices.(1)

Thus, in spite of his predilection for poetry, and in spite of the great quantity of verse he is reputed to have composed, Nadīm can hardly be regarded as more than a competent versifier who rarely succeeds in expressing his own emotions in poetry,and even more rarely in conveying them to the reader.

FOLK SONG IN NADĪM'S TIME

It can by no means be maintained that Egypt has the merit of having invented any of the Funun al-Sab'ah, that is the new poetry of the modern poets which does not follow the traditional ways of the Qaṣīdah along the beaten track of pre-Islamic poetry.(2) In fact, these popular song forms

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1. See Ibid, Nos. 27,28,30, pp. 668-670.
2. Shaykh 'Abd al-Rāziq, B.S.O.S.,Vol.ii,p.260. Most writers call these forms al-Funūn al-Shi'riyyah or al-Funūn al-Sab'ah, but differ as to the name of one form. Al-Jabartī does not limit the number to seven. Cheikho in his 'Ilm al-Adab (Vol.1,Beirut 1886) p.317 mentions nine and calls them al-Funūn al-Tis'ah. Professor Nicholson apparently follows Shaykh Ḥusayn al-Marṣafī and Shihāb al-Din al-Miṣrī in the naming of the seven forms. See Nicholson, op.cit. p.450; Shaykh Ḥusayn al-Marṣafī, al-Wasīlah al-Adabiyyah, Cairo 1289 A.H., vol.ii,p.188;Shaykh Muḥammad Shihāb al-Dīn al Meṣrī 1277 A.H.Safīnat al-Mulk p.8. See also Ibn Khaldūn, Tārikh, (Bulaq,1284 A.H.vol. i, pp.518, 524, 529, 530 and 532); al-Jabartī op.cit.,vol,i, pp.290 and al-Rawḍah, vol. ii, no. 21, dated 15th Dhū al-Qa'dah, 1288, A.H. p.4.

like Muwashshaḥāt, Zajal, Muwāliyā, Qūmā, Kān Wa Kān, Dubait and Himāq otherwise Silsilah, which are sometimes rather ineptly termed new metres, were imported to Egypt from Andalusia, Baghdad and Persia. Although imported from outside, these short occasional poems and songs never flourished anywhere to the same degree as in Egypt, for they suited both the nature of the Egyptian and the character of his social life. The kinds that proved more fertile than others were Muwashshaḥāt, Mawāliyā, and Zajal and Kānwakān.

The Muwashshaḥāt, a new strophic type of poetry of local inspiration, began to be cultivated in Spain between the fifth and eleventh century, and was given finished form by the blind poet al-Ṭutīlī(died 1129) and Ibn Bāqī (died 1145-6). The origin of both Zajal and Muwashshaḥāt is doubtful. It is a controversial point which of the two is the earlier type; however, whether Zajal is vernacular in origin and has produced Muwashshaḥāt as a later refined off-shoot, or whether it is a vulgarised form of the Muwashshaḥāt, is not relevant in this context. Be it as it may, the origin of Zajal is, perhaps erroneously, attributed to the ninth century. It came truly to life with one of the highest poetic peaks of the Middle Ages, the Troubadour Ibn Quzmān (died 1160), and the host of popular poets, who mastered and popularised this form in the then Arab dominated Spain.

The structure of both the Muwashshaḥāt and the Zajal is similar; both consist of several stanzas in which the rhymes are so arrayed that the master rhyme, terminating each stanza and running through the whole poem like a refrain, is continually interrupted by a various succession of subordinate rhyme. The only difference between the two forms is that the classical tongue, the I'rāb, is compulsory in the Muwashshaḥāt, and the Laḥn is only admissible in the last verses of the last strophe which show the common rhyme. In contrast to this, the Zajal is entirely composed in vulgar dialect, without any regard to the rules of classical prosody. From the 13th century on only poets of the Mashriq have cultivated these simple ballads with their novel metres. It is believed that they were transplanted to Egypt by the famous poet Ibn Sanā'al-Mulk (died 1211), Saladin's secretary.

The Kān wa Kān, unknown to classical poets, was invented in Baghdad, and derives its name from the formula originally used by story tellers at the beginning of their narration, corresponding to the English introductory phrase "once upon a time". In the spoken language it was in vogue in the East only. Kān wa Kān was epic in character, originally a rhymed tale which later acquired a moralising tendency. It is a Malḥūn poem composed of two-line strophes and, strangely enough, regarded by the traditions as a particular

metrical form of Zajal in spite of their different origin.[1]

The Mawāliyā was, according to the traditions, invented in Wāsiṭ, but was improved and made fashionable in Baghdad. It was then permitted to compose it in both classical language and in Malḥūn, and it has even been occasionally invaded by colloquial words. Three of these kinds, Muwashshaḥāt, Zajal and Mawāliyā, found in Egypt an especially fertile soil.

The Muwashshaḥāt, used in religious Sufi performances, spread among the Ṣūfī orders and became a characteristic feature of the religious life of Egypt. The Mawlids, so frequently in Egypt, are often the scene of Dhikr performances whose popularity among the Ṣūfī orders is enormous. Dhikr performances take place weekly, and sometimes more than once a week, in every village of Upper and Lower Egypt, and the Muwashshaḥāt is recited to the beat of the tambourin by the special singer of the Dhikr group, called munshid. Gradually, these munshids developed into professionals for whom Muwashshaḥāt were specially composed by Ṣūfī poets. Also ballad-mongers toured the villages with their tambourins, reciting corrupted Muwashshaḥāt in front of the houses, waiting for gifts. Inevitably, these ballad-mongers and a large proportion of Muwashshaḥāt reciters were ignorant men, a fact which influenced the Muwashshaḥāt so that both the Laḥn and a number of vulgarisms found their way into it.

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1. Cf. Muḥammad Bey Diyāb, Tārīkh 'Adāb al Lugah al-'Arabiyyah (Cairo 1899-1900), vol. 1, p. 147.

This song form has prevailed in Egypt up to the present moment.

As regards the Mawāliyā, it was originally chiefly classical, merely interspersed with occasional Laḥn and colloquialisms.(1) It developed into the Mawwāl, and, brutally vulgarised, became the favourite song form of the fellah in which he found an outlet for his feelings of joy and sorrow, and spread among the fellahin all over the villages of Egypt. It may be interesting to point out that very few of these songs express happiness or joy, and their majority depicts the miserable condition of the peasant under the oppressive rule of despots. The fellah is fond of listening to these songs in which he finds relief because they echo his emotions, and the long intervals between agricultural seasons give them time to listen to the Mawwāl, recited by professional singers called Mughannāwī or Mawāwiljī who are specially hired for this purpose. The fellahin seize with alacrity every opportunity to have them recited: at weddings, circumcision ceremonies, pilgrimages and even deliberately created occasions, they gather together and sit on the floor in circles, while two Mughannāwīs (reciters) stand opposite each other in the moonlight or torch-light, accompanied by a flute-player, and compete with each other

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1. For specimens of this kind cf. Ḥusayn Maẓlūm, Tārīkh Adab al-Sha'b, Cairo 1936, pp.36-38.

in the recitation of Mawwāls. Most of these singers are capable of composing Mawwāls on the spur of the moment, freely employing Badī' devices, ornaments and puns, although the song remains essentially vulgar.(1) The fellah usually memorises these Mawwāls which he afterwards recites while at work. There used to be also professional women mourners at funerals to lament the death of the deceased among women.(2)

As to the Zajal, it takes a route different from the Muwashshaḥāt and Mawāliyā. As has already been stated, the Muwashshaḥāt, though the nearest to classical form, was confined to religious topics, eulogies of the Prophet and Ṣūfī teachings. It was, in the period of decadence, merely the imitative repetition of existing models; the Mawāliyā, on the other hand, was in provincial dialect, of eminently local character and, since it was composed by ignorant reciters, limited in its meaning, picture and vocabulary. The Zajal, however, which, due to its smoothness and variety of metre lent itself to the expression of every thought and meaning of the poet, found favour with men of letters and predominated in literary circles. The variety of its metre gave the Zajjālīn (Zajal reciters) more scope than any other popular song form, and it has been said that a Zajjāl who is

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1. For specimens of Mawwāls cf. Aḥmad Rushdī Ṣāliḥ, al-Adab al-Sha'bī, Cairo 1954, vol.i, pp.77-82; cf.also Muẓlūm, op.cit., pp.38-43.
2. For specimens cf. Ṣāliḥ, op.cit., vol. 1, pp. 190-208

not capable of composing at least a thousand kinds of Zajal is a poor Zajjāl.(1) Though the popularity of this simple ballad was such that even court poets occasionally condescended to write in this style, very little of it was recorded and consequently fell into oblivion. Since it was despised by the traditional schools for its incorrect language, and treated with hostility by the conservative literary groups who considered it a danger to traditional Arabic literature, the literary historian took little notice of it, and if he referred to it at all, dismissed it lightly as a deviation from the right path. It must be mentioned that, in the period of decadence, the Zajal suffered less than poetry, prose and Muwashshaḥāt but, on the contrary, flourished for two reasons. The first was that the poets whose limited vocabulary and faulty knowledge of classical Arabic - a general feature of the decadence - hindered the exercise of their gift in the traditional classical way, concentrated their efforts on Zajal as the easier and therefore more congenial medium; the second that the boon companions and professionals who had never lacked means of subsistence in the capital under the patronage of the rulers, found little scope under Turkish masters, who, at the beginning, understood

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1. Cf. Ibrahīm Anīs, Mūsīqā al-Shi'r, (undated) p.232; Ḍiyāb op.cit., vol.i, p. 137.

no Arabic, and emigrated to the provinces to seek the generosity of local dignitaries. Although most of the latter were wealthy, some were often also uneducated, and found it difficult to appreciate classical poetry; but as they were reluctant to listen to the Mawwāl together with the masses of the fellahin, the Zajal was for them a very welcome entertainment.(1) Later, when the Turkish rulers of Egypt learnt to speak the language of the country, some of them encouraged poets to gather round them in literary circles which enhanced their feeling of importance; but, since the Arabic they were familiar with was not the classical language, but the easier colloquial idiom, Zajal proved again more suitable for purposes of recitation than classical literary art forms. Although the scarcity of records of Zajal in this period makes it difficult to express a correct judgment of any kind, there is no doubt that it must have suffered under the general state of decadence, and that it was predominantly satirical, panegyrical, erotic and moralising in character.

With the onset of the Renaissance in the 19th century, new blood began to circulate in the Arabic literary world, and new life came also into the Zajal. "People of every class began to take notice of this art, and inclined to prefer it, and loved to listen to the innovators.... Men of letters

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1. For details of Zajal recitation in the mansions of the wealthy fellahin cf. Ṣāliḥ, op.cit.,pp.76-77.

compose Zajal because it is light on the hearts of the masses and easy to memorise....".[1]

NADĪM THE PIONEER OF THE RENAISSANCE OF POPULAR POETRY

With the appearance of 'Abd Allāh Nadīm "a great, unprecedented revolution began in the history of Zajal. It is considered as the first revolution of its kind, for the School of Zajal he founded and the prestige which he lent to this verse form sent it rocketing high in the esteem of the literary world".[2]

It is true that Nadīm was not the only zajjāl of his time; many famous Zajjālīn were his contemporaries. There were such men as Ḥasan al-'Ālātī who founded a circle, the famous al-Muḍhikkhānah al-'Aliyyah in Cairo,[3] and his rival, Shaykh Ramaḍān Ḥalāwah, Nadīm's colleague at Shāhīn Pasha's circle in Ṭanṭā (1877);[4] Sayyid 'Ali Abū al-Naṣr,[5] Shaykh 'Alī al-Laythī,[6] the court poets Muḥammad Akmal and Muḥammad 'Uthmān Jalāl.[7] But though famous Zajjalin,

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1. Maẓlūm, op.cit.,pp.60,61.
2. Ibid, p.63.
3. For details cf.Shawqī Ḍayf, al-Fukāhah fī Miṣr,(Cairo 1958), pp.103-106; Maẓlūm, op.cit.,104-112.
4. Cf. Maẓlūm, op.cit.,p.63; also Al-Ustādh, p.985.
5. For more details cf. Taymūr, op.cit.,p.141.
6. Ibid, pp. 103-119.
7. Cf. Maẓlūm, op.cit.,pp.98-104; Ḍayf, al-Fukāhah, pp.108-109.

they were essentially imitative, and merely followed in the footsteps of their predecessors. It was their only merit that they could recite Zajal fluently and in large quantities, but they lacked originality: though the words were different, the picture described hardly varied at all.

The Zajal was recited at circles whose purpose was to spend the hours of leisure agreeably in amusement or song. The subjects of the recitations were, as usual, confined to satire, eulogy, love and humour.(1) The credit for having revolutionised Zajal goes to Nadīm for several reasons:

1 - he was the first to inspire Zajal with political passion, and to fill it with topical subjects of general interest like ethics or social reform.

2 - he was the first to use it as a means of political and war propaganda, agitating and mobilising people to such an extent that they not only backed the national movement, but rose and fought. "People in Nadīm's day expected great events; this man [Nadīm] came to them in a way nearest to their hearts; they listened to him, and heard what he said. He invaded a great part of their souls. The effect of his revolutionary Zajal on the minds of the masses was like magic. People rushed to respond to his call with wondrous readiness, though he was calling on them to fight and die for their nation".(2)

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1. Mazlūm, op. cit., p. 63.
2. Mazlūm, op.cit., p.62

3 - Almost unintentionally, Nadīm raised the standard of Zajal to the level of poetry, oratory and prose. Consequently, his Zajal affected both the élite and the large masses of the population in a degree almost equal to oration, poetry and prose.(1)

4 - Though he did not collect it in a Dīwān, Nadīm recorded Zajal side by side with poetry and prose in his newspapers, hesitantly in Al-Tankīt, but whole-heartedly and on a large scale in Al-Ustādh.

5 - By giving impulse and encouragement to young Zajjālīn who imitated him, by publishing their work and giving them scope for the publication of their competitions and Taḍmīn on each others Zajal, in Al-Ustādh,(2) he became the founder of a modern school of Zajal, for his disciples and imitators became the leaders of successive movements. "They were his helpers in this great movement in which the Zajal reached heights never surpassed in its history".(3) For all these reasons, Nadīm can rightly be regarded as the pioneer of the renaissance of Zajal.(4)

Unfortunately, most of Nadīm's Zajal, including those recited in his early days in Alexandria, during the competitions at literary circles, those composed while touring the country

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1. Ibid, p. 62.
2. Some of his disciples who later became zajjāls of renown were Shaykh Aḥmad al Qūṣī, Shaykh 'Alī Muḥammad Sālim, Shaykh 'Abd al-Jawwād, 'Alī, Muḥammad Effendi Ḥāmid, Muṣṭafā Effendi Ḥasan and others; cf. Al-Ustādh, pp. 64, 123, 129, 251, 277, 374, 378, 401, 625, 977.
3. Maẓlūm, op.cit., p. 62.
4. Cf. Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Qūṣī, Dīwān al-Qūṣī, Cairo 1934, pp. 13, 14; al-Iskandarī, al-Wasīṭ, p. 323; Maẓlūm, op.cit., pp. 62, 63.

as a boon companion of dignitaries, and those produced in his war propaganda campaign, seem to have irretrievably fallen into oblivion. The relatively few extant exceptions, however, suffice to assess him as a gifted Zajjāl of great eloquence, who has mastered the great variety of metres peculiar to Zajal and uses them for a great number of new subjects. The best proof of that is his victory, at a comparatively immature age, over six master ʾUdabātiyyah who enjoyed a great reputation as Zajal reciters in the country. He composed Zajal in great quantity and with great success. He improvised it on the spur of the moment, and none of the famous Zajjālīn could equal his easy flow of verse.(1)

It can be observed that Nadīm's Zajal goes through several stages of development, parallel with the changes in his mode of life. His Zajal is a mirror of the events of his life and the echo of the condition of his soul. Thus, in his first contemplative period, before he had liberated himself from the rulesof the imitative school, and was still following existing models in ornate literary style, his Zajal - as his prose and poetry in general - did not materially differ from the old Badīʿ literature. He still kept to the beaten track in his choice of subjects: erotic;(2) boasting(3)

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1. Yakan, op.cit., vol.i.p.28.
2. See Appendix No.22 p.p. 664-665.
3. Ibid. No.21, p. 664.

(fakhr), moralising[1] (nuṣh).

In the second period of his life the Zajal he recited and subsequently recorded in Al-Tankīt bear the marks of his mission as a social reformer on the lines of "Raillery and Reproof". He composed Zajal on the spread of drunkenness, on the passing of Egyptian wealth from native into foreign hands, on the extremes of modernisation in customs and clothes, and its effect on the nation at large. (He also criticised, in a somewhat cynical tone, the ignorance of the Egyptian and his indifference towards education and industry)[2]

But the Zajal produced in the fifth period of his life, which coincides with the second period of political struggle and with the second phase of the national movement, bear the stamp of political as well as social interests. Some of them are published in Al-Ustādh. They were social Zajal,[3] satirical Zajal,[4] (directed against the imitation of the Western way of life) and political Zajal.[5]

Not only did Nadīm deal with politics in his Zajal, he made it even an instrument of polemics in his fight against the mercenary press, especially al-Muqaṭṭam, accusing its

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1. Ibid, .. No.20A, p.p. 663-664.
2. Cf. Al-Tankīt, 7.8.1881, pp 149-151.
3. See Appendix Nos. 23, 24, 25, pp. 665-667.
4. See Ibid, No. 26A, p. 667-668.
5. See Ibid, No. 26, p. 667.

owners of mendacity and hostility towards all things Egyptian.

In dividing the press into national and anti-national papers, he stressed in his Zajal the merits of the national group in inciting the nation to opposition.(1)

The reason why Nadīm did not record all his Zajal in Diwans as he did with his poetry may have been the prejudice against Zajal on the part of the conservative literary circles. However, he was adventurous enough to record some of it, and a larger number composed by his disciples, and thus established Zajal as an art form worthy of recording. It was only due to his influence that some of his disciples founded papers on the model of Al-Tankīt wa al Tabkīt, Al-Arghūl and Ḥimārat Munyatī most of whose columns were devoted to Zajal(2) Henceforth, Zajal has occupied a constant place in Arabic literature.

1.He enumerates in his Zajal 22 national newspapers and periodicals cf. Al-Ustādh, pp. 858-862.
2.For more details cf. Ḍayf, al-Fukāhah,pp.110-130.

THE RENAISSANCE OF ORATORY IN EGYPT

Political platform speeches in Arabic never really abounded in Egypt before the second half of the nineteenth century. In the era of Mameluke and Ottoman rule not only political speeches, but even sermons bore the mark of decadence. Even in Fatimid times political speeches were scarce, and were prepared beforehand, memorised and delivered or rather read out from behind a screen. The reasons for the decline of Arabic platform speaking were manifold:

1. - Although rhetoric had a fixed place in Muslim ritual, since it formed part of the Friday service, of the celebration of the two 'Īds (The great and the lesser Bairam) as well as of the services held at particular occasions such as marriage ceremonies, pilgrimages, eclipses of the sun or excessive droughts, it was not merely confined to religious topics, but was meant to deal with social, political and even military problems as well. However, with the onset of the rule of oppression in the Arab world, speeches were limited to strictly religious subject matter.

2. - The decline of Arab power under the rule of non-Arabs and the influx of foreign elements adversely affected both the purity of the Arab tongue and the fluency of the speakers. The circular replaced the oration in public

life.[1] Even the quality of religious sermons declined, for "when orators became unable to improvise religious speeches on different problems, they memorised the sermons of their predecessors ... and delivered their words from the pulpits of the mosques without even the slightest comprehension of their meaning."[2] The characteristic feature of medieval literature, that is to say Badī' ornamentation, is even more noticeable in the religious Khuṭbah than in literature proper. In fact, the Khuṭbah became to the Khaṭīb (the preacher) what a calligraphic document was to the scribe: the scribe displayed his art in flourished initials, the Khaṭīb displayed his in rhymed prose. On all Fridays and diverse festivals, the Khuṭbahs in different mosques were identical since they were not original. Sermons, specially written for a given occasion, came from the same collection of sermons composed a long time before. There were Dīwāns of Khuṭbahs arranged according to the calendar, four sermons for every month and additional ones for the days of festivals, the Prophet's birthday

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(1) Al-Iskandarī, al Wasīṭ, pp.189-190; al-Zayyāt, op.cit., p.213

(2) Al-Zayyāt, op.cit., pp.213,214; cf. also al-Iskandarī, al-Wasīṭ, p.292; Mahmūd Muṣṭafā, Tārīkh al-Adab al 'Arabī, Cairo 1937, vol.II, pp.54-55

and his ascension.

The emergence of platform speaking in Egypt in the second half of the nineteenth century was the result of four contributory factors:

1. - The burden of oppression under which Egypt had laboured for many centuries began to lift, and the country began to enjoy that relative freedom of expression in political matters which is the pre-condition of oratory.
2. - Public opinion, non-existent under Turkish rule, began to consolidate, and the formerly indifferent citizen was roused to national consciousness which is the main source of patriotic oratory.
3. - The increasing spread of education and the newly established contact with the outside world as well as the development of journalism brought awareness of the deplorable conditions in which the Egyptians were living, and this new awareness made their ears listen and their tongues speak.
4. - As has been mentioned before, Jamāl al-Dīn fully appreciated the importance of platform speaking as a medium of propaganda, and trained the most promising among his disciples in the art of rhetoric, thus providing a large contingent of proficient orators. However, Ismā'īl's iron grip was inescapable; exile to the Sudan or even death by strangling threatened whomsoever opened his mouth in public

to criticise Ismā'īl's dictatorship, or to deplore the dire plight of the country and, though Ismā'īl could prevent tongues from speaking, he could not prevent the consequences of the modernisation or rather Europeanisation which he had himself introduced and popularised.

As has been stated above, Jamāl al-Dīn fully realised that platform speaking could become a powerful instrument of his intended reform of the internal conditions of Egypt. Therefore he took great pains in training the most gifted among his disciples, and inspired them with tremendous self-confidence. "We felt in our souls", states Ḥifnī Nāṣif, "that any of us was capable of reforming a province or a kingdom".(1)

The seed sown by Jamāl al-Dīn found in Nadīm a most fertile soil. Although a number of his colleagues who underwent the same training were later orators of great repute, none of them can be compared with Nadīm who became the most outstanding orator of his day and age. Public speaking "was suited to no one else as to him, and he was suited for nothing else so much as for that".(2) Although Nadīm's career as an orator has been dealt with in great detail in the second and third chapters of the present work, it cannot be stressed with too much emphasis that the renaissance of the glory of Arabic rhetoric, after it

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(1) Al-Manār, vol.XXVIII, pp.709,710

(2) Al-Manār, vol.XXVIII, p.710

had been almost extinct for many centuries, is connected with no one so much as with Nadīm. His eloquence was reminiscent of the eloquence of the Golden Age; he equalled the great orators of pre-Islamic, Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid times.(2)

NADĪM THE ORATOR OF THE EAST

Nadīm can be described as the unrivalled pioneer of Arabic oratory in modern times for a number of reasons of incontestable validity:

1. - he was the first Egyptian in modern times(1) fearlessly to stand up and address the public in an open demand for reform;
2. - he was the first to use platform speaking to communicate with the masses and to transmit to them his ideas of reform;
3. - he was the first to rebel against the traditional manner of public speaking which, before him, had been confined to mosques and churches, and limited to religious problems; he began practising oratory in public places, and dealt in it with political, social and even military problems;
4. - he was the first to modify its style, adopting, instead of the medieval Badī' manner, the easy, lucid, straightforward

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(1) Jamāl al-Dīn once delivered a political speech in Alexandria before Nadīm, but his audience was confined to intellectuals, and the admission to the Zizīnyā, where the speech was delivered, was by ticket only.

(2)

style which promoted the easy flow of thought;[1]

5. - he was the first to found a Mahfil for al-Khaṭābah (Periodical Assembly for Rhetoric) at which orators were given the opportunity to compete with each other, and audiences could discuss the subjects of the speeches in question. This Mahfil was an off-shoot of the Islamic Society in Alexandria.

6. - Nadīm popularised the art of oratory in the country in three different ways: a) he founded, between 1879-1881, a rhetoric society among the students of the Jam'iyyah's school trained them - as earlier stated - in public speaking, and introduced them to the public at assemblies, parties, celebrations and various other occasions. Some of these students later distinguished themselves in the field of oratory: Muṣṭafā Māhir Pasha,[2] Fatḥī Zaghlūl Pasha,[3] became famous orators in their own time. In the second period of his activity, i.e. 1892-1893, he trained his disciples in the same way. Among the disciples of this period was Muṣṭafā Kāmil whose eloquence, coupled with his undeniable genius, made him the leader of the national movement in its

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(1) Two of his Mahfil speeches in Alexandria were composed in Badī' style to satisfy public demand. Papers even announced the particular style and figure of speech Nadīm proposed to use at his next public performance; cf.Miṣr, 13 and 20b.1879

(2) Became later a minister of Waqf, cf.al-Khafīf, op.cit., p.551.

(3) Became Under-Secretary of State, and finally Assistant Minister of Justice; cf. Adams, op.cit., p.213

third phase, and who carried the torch of the revolution after his mentor Nadīm; b) he encouraged the foundation of rhetoric assemblies all over the country; each of the Jam'iyyahs he founded had such an assembly attached to it for the orators to train in and display their eloquence and for the audience to listen; c) in his journalistic articles, he called on the intellectuals to turn their meetings and circles into oratorical arenas for the discussion of topical problems;(1) he even represented the promotion of oratory as a duty to the nation. "To free the nation from ignorance ... and to inspire the body of the nation with the spirit of nationalism and unity";(2)

7. - Nadīm did not confine himself to the traditional manner of delivering public speeches from pulpit and platform, but seized every imaginable opportunity to address an audience. He went out to the beach, into fields and roads and to all kinds of gatherings and assemblies to transmit his ideas on reform to the masses. Thus he was responsible for the birth, in Egypt, of "free oratory".

8. - Among the disciples of Jamāl al-Dīn, Nadīm was the first to realise the potential effect of oratory on the nation. He was even the first to attempt, in the press, a monograph

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(1) Al-Tankīt, p.224

(2) Ibid, p.223-225; cf. also Al-Ustādh, pp.208, 415-416

on oration and its influence on the nation in the course of history, under the title Alsun al Khutabā'Tuhyī wa Tumīt (1) (The Tongue of the Speaker Gives Life and Death), a chronological survey of oration from pre-Islamic times to his own day, together with an account of the reasons of its decline in the Middle Ages. "When the tyranny of Kings prevailed, they diverted rhetoric from its true purpose to deal with religion only ... for rhetoric was then an equivalent to the press. We see in our own times that a just government gives full freedom to the press ... but despotic governments censor it, exactly as they censor the speeches of the orators so that nothing should be printed but what suits their policy without considering the interests of the nation, and leaving the people in the darkness of ignorance"(2). In this survey, Nadīm also stressed the importance of oratory for the education of the masses: "Illiteracy ... prevails among the bulk of our people; but if all of them could read, the press would easily replace the speeches. Thus, if we abandon public speaking, which is the only way of educating the masses, the darkness of ignorance will continue to form a barrier between them and the progress of their time"(3). With

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(1) Cf. Al-Tankīt, pp.235-239

(2) Ibid., p.238

(3) Al-Tankīt, p.238

regard to the scarcity of good orators, Nadīm suggested to have good speeches, dealing with topical religious, social and political problems, printed and distributed weekly in towns and villages in order to be delivered by less prominent orators. To put this plan into practice, he proposed to raise funds by subscription.(1)

9. - Nadīm was the first to rebel against the traditional religious Khuṭbah, for he believed that to repeat nonsensical sermons recorded in the times of decadence many centuries before, sermons which taught indifference towards life on earth, praising poverty and promising rewards in heaven, "corrupted the thoughts of the people, killed determination and promoted laziness, carelessness, fatalism and subservience".(2) In his project of reform Nadīm pointed out that "the religious Khuṭbah was not originally intended to promote love of death and renunciation to life and worldly matters ... but dealt, in the Prophet's and his successors' time, with political, social and even military interests of the nation".(3) Nadīm foresaw a great uproar among the established mosque preachers when they heard of

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(1) Cf. Al-Tankīt, pp.238-239; this plan never materialised.

(2) Al-Tankīt, p.223

(3) Ibid., p.237

his campaign, and so he wrote a model speech to replace the traditional Khuṭbahs he wanted them to discard. In it he demonstrated that a Khuṭbah could deal with contemporary problems, and still fulfil the conditions of validity from the viewpoint of Islamic ritual.(1) Among the objects of his campaign was the publication of a new Dīwān of religious Khuṭbahs to replace the medieval ones "to open the door to every generation to write their own Khuṭbahs dealing with their own questions, so that people should become conversant with their problems, and be well-informed, not ignorant, honoured, not humiliated, enlightened and not ignorant".(2)

10. - Nadīm was the first orator of modern Egypt to gain an international reputation for eloquence, a reputation which was by no means confined to Arab countries, but even reached Europe; he was described as a great orator not only in the British press, but also in official circles,(3) and was the first among Egyptian orators to be mentioned by European orientalists.(4)

11. - He was the first non-'Ālim to be allowed on the pulpit of the mosque of al-Azhar, not only to address the masses,

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(1) Al-Tankīt, pp.239-240

(2) Ibid., p.241, the Dīwān in question never materialised.

(3) cf. The Times, 20.3.1893; 29 and 31.5.1893; cf. also Blunt, secret, p.236.

(4) Cf. Brockelmann, op.cit., vol.III, pp.331-332, Gibb, B.S.O.A.S., vol.IV, p.755, Blunt, Secret, pp.164,306,308, 330.

but the orthodox 'Ulamā' themselves,(1) a phenomenon which found no repetition until the revolution of 1919.

It is a fact worth mentioning that, in spite of his insistence on the necessity of modern orientation, he adhered, in his religious Khutbahs, to rhymed prose which he obviously considered as suitable for the solemnity of the occasion. This rhymed prose is, however, free of Badī' figures, presumably due to the intention of making it more easily comprehensible to large masses of the population. All his other public speeches but two - composed, as has already been stated, in his early days - are completely free from rhyme or Badī'. He was the most eloquent representative of his generation. "His poetry was lesser than his prose, and his prose was lesser than his tongue, but his tongue was the zenith of our present day".(2) Endowed by nature with a venturesome and daring spirit, he developed a characteristic courage and self-reliance, and could communicate this self-confidence to his audience. The relationship between him and his audience was reciprocal for he needed the presence of an audience to inspire him. It is certain that his eloquence and zeal in approaching the public in speeches gave him his opportunity in leadership more rapidly than any other of the numerous activities he developed.

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(1) Cf. Blunt, Secret, pp.308,330

(2) Taymūr, op.cit., p.28

NADĪM'S WORK

'Abd Allāh Nadīm wrote a considerable number of books. Regardless of all his other pursuits - which, as has been already shown, were manifold - he always devoted a part of his time to writing, but the most important period of his creative life was incontestably the decade from 1882-1892 in which no other duties diverted his attention. These ten years, in which his literary output covers a great diversity of subjects: literature, rhetoric, theology, history, linguistics, Uṣūl, Tafsīr, Taṣawwuf (mysticism), ethics and politics, can be aptly termed the second contemplative period of his life. Though the great majority of his books are lost or at least not available for reasons beyond our control, the small number extant will have to form the basis of a judgement of both the calibre and the rôle in literature of Nadīm as a writer in Arabic.

The number of books written by him cannot be assessed with any exactitude. The presumably irrecoverable loss of the majority, and the insuperable difficulty in getting hold of some presumably existing but inaccessible works of Nadīm, forms the chief obstacle. There is not the slightest doubt, however, as to his fecundity and versatility. His lifelong friend Aḥmad Samīr has stated that "he /Nadīm/ has written, in books large and small, what amounts to hundreds"[1]. In another place,

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(1) Samīr, op.cit., p.20

the same friend declares that Nadīm's "literary epistles and books reach a hundred on different subjects".(1) The third statement in this respect comes from Ismā'īl Pasha al-Baghdādī who says: "His books, large and small, exceed a hundred".(2) According to this statement, therefore, only a very small percentage of his literary output is still extant.

Several reasons account for the loss of his books. To begin with, when he was forced to flee at night from Badāwā, in or about 1875, after his afore-mentioned quarrel with the local 'Umdah, his host, the latter's followers broke into his house and "when they failed to find him, they set fire to the house and his books were burned with the rest".(3) Secondly, during his days as a merchant in al-Manṣūrah, "his servant profited by his absence and stole his belongings, including his books, and fled".(4) Thirdly, when his father was evacuated from Alexandria with the rest of its inhabitants during the bombardment of the city on July 11th, 1882, "he collected a selection of my books", says Nadīm, "and packed them in three large cases and took them with him ... he lost them in Kafr-al-Zayyāt".(5) The fourth circumstance to cause the disappearance of a number

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(1) Samīr, op.cit., p.4

(2) In his book, Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn fī Asmā' al-Mu'allifīn wa 'Athār al-Muṣannifīn (Istanbul 1901) vol.I, p.492

(3) Samīr, op.cit., p.22

(4) Ibid., pp.22-23

(5) Kān wa Yakūn, vol.I, pp.9,89; also Samīr, op.cit., p.23

of his works was that his friends loved to read what he composed. "Thus, immediately when he finished any book, and it was still in manuscript form, some friend came to him and borrowed it, but did not return it. Friends from Cairo, Alexandria and al-Manṣūrah have done it".(1) One of these friends was the afore-mentioned 'Abd al-'Azīz Ḥāfiẓ, who borrowed his small Diwan of poetry,(2) but failed to return it;(3) another, M. Bey F., borrowed his medium-sized Dīwān(4) and, when asked to give it back, "proffered the excuse that he had lost it".(5) As to a collection of literary epistles, also written in his youth, and dealing with a variety of subjects, "he had them in safe keeping with a friend, together with his third Dīwān, /Tarṣī' al-Mās fī Khayr al-Nās/, but the friend later withheld them and refused to hand them over after Nadīm's death."(6) The fifth reason why much of his work disappeared without trace was the confiscation of Nadīm's books and manuscripts by the Turkish police by the Sultan's orders in the course of the fruitless search for Al-Masāmīr, the satire on Abū al Hudā al-Ṣayyādī which the Sultan erroneously believed to refer also to himself.(7)

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(1) Samīr, op.cit., p.22

(2) Consisting of 3,000 lines of poetry, written in his youth; cf. Samīr, op.cit., p.20

(3) Ibid.

(4) Consisting of 4,000 lines of poetry written in his youth. cf. Samīr, op.cit., p.20

(5) According to a statement made by his brother 'Abd al-Fattāh, cf. Sulāfah, vol.I, p.69

(6) Ibid.

(7) See above, p.

Sixthly, when his mother and brother arrived in Constantinople immediately after his decease, "they found his house empty, for his friends and associates had taken everything of value, even his books and manuscripts"[1].

For the purpose of classification, it has been found both convenient and advisable to divide his life - and literary activity - into six periods:

I. FIRST PERIOD: 1860-1879

1. - A small Dīwān of poetry, consisting of 3,000 lines of poetry; it is lost;
2. - A medium Dīwān of poetry, consisting of 4,000 lines; it is lost;
3. - A large collection of literary epistles on a great variety of subjects, of which not more than sixteen have survived.[2] All written in Badī' style while he was working at al-Qaṣr al-'Ālī in Cairo.
4. - Another collection of literary epistles under the collective title Riyāḍ al-Rasā'il wa Ḥiyāḍ al-Wasā'il. Together with his third Dīwān of poetry, they were entrusted to a friend and, with the exception of the introduction and two epistles, never recovered.
5. - Zajal recited in this period (mostly unrecorded).

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(1) Samīr, op.cit., p.19; this may have been done by the Sultan and Abū al-Hudā themselves for the above mentioned reasons.

(2) Not fourteen, as stated by Samīr, cf. Samīr, op.cit., p.20

The Zajal he recited while touring the country as a boon companion of dignitaries and wealthy men in towns and villages, and which are believed to have been produced in great quantities, do not seem to have been recorded at all. The only exceptions are the Zajal improvised in the competition at Shāhīn Pasha's mansion in Ṭanṭā in August 1877 when, Nadīm recited Zajal and other popular poetry. His friend, Shaykh Ramaḍan Ḥalāwah, was present at the meeting, and took down in writing what Nadīm recited. "Of the Zajal of this meeting, he /Shaykh Ramaḍān Ḥalāwah/ wrote five full copy-books all of which are kept in our possession; nothing has been lost".(1) These five copy-books can be considered as a Dīwān, the first Dīwān of Nadīm's Zajal. He himself never regarded this collection as a Dīwān, or at least never referred to it as such, as he did with his poetry. The probable reason why Nadīm never thought of recording the enormous quantity of Zajal he produced in form of a Dīwān, was the belief prevalent in conservative literary circles at that time that Zajal, whose language was popular, was inferior to literature in the proper sense of the word. Unfortunately, most of these copy-books were subsequently lost, and only a fraction of the Zajal recorded therein was later published in Al-Ustādh.(2)

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(1) Al-Ustādh, p.994

(2) Ibid., pp.985-995

II. SECOND PERIOD: 1879-1881

1. - A number of articles published in the newspaper Miṣr, al-Tijārah, al-'Aṣr al-Jadīd and al-Maḥrūsah, all of which are preserved.

2. - The periodical Al-Tankīt wa al-Tabkīt, published in Alexandria from June 6, 1881 - October 23, 1881; all its issues are preserved. In this period, Nadīm also had the intention of writing his memoirs, or rather an account of his days in Al-Jam'iyyah al-Khayriyyah under the title "'Āthār al-Insāniyyah fī Tārīkh al-Jam'iyyah al-Islamiyyah"(1) but this book never materialised.

3. - Two plays, Al-Waṭan and Al-'Arab, written in 1881, and performed on the stage of the Zizīnyā with the student cast of the afore-mentioned Dramatic Society; only a few pages of al-Watan are extant.

III. THIRD PERIOD: 1881-1882

1. - The newspaper Al-Ṭā'if, from November 1881 - September 1882; published at first in Alexandria and later transferred to Cairo. As has been mentioned earlier, only twenty issues have been preserved.

2. - Into this period also falls the historical work Muqābalat al-Nazīr, consisting of four large volumes; it is lost.

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(1) Al-Tankīt, 3.7.1881, p.50

IV. FOURTH PERIOD: His retreat, from September 1882-May 1892.

1. - A collection of literary epistles in his early Badī' style, written to some of his friends from his retreat. Only four of these epistles are preserved.(1)

2. - A collection of letters, also in Badī' style, addressed to 'Urābī during the latter's exile in Ceylon; five of them are extant.(2)

3. - Kān wa Yakūn, consisting of three volumes, the first of which was published in instalments in Al-Ustādh; only thirty-two instalments, consisting of 256 pages, are preserved, but the remaining 64 pages of the manuscript which were never published, are lost. The second volume is lost; the third dealing with the history of the national movement in Egypt beginning with Sa'īd's reign and ending with the collapse of 'Urābī's revolution, which was given the sub-title Tārīkh Miṣr fī Hādhā al-'Aṣr, was recently discovered in manuscript form in Dār al-Kutab al-Miṣriyyah (Egyptian National Library), and subsequently published under the new title 'Abd Allāh Nadīm wa Mudhakkirātuhu al-Siyāsiyyah in 1956. Although it is not explicitly stated in the book that it is the third volume of Kān wa Yakūn, Nadīm's statement contained in the introduction to

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(1) Cf. Al-Ustādh, pp.21-24, 315-328; also Kān wa Yakūn, pp.12, 205-206

(2) Cf. Tārīkh Miṣr, pp.85-95

to the first volume that the third volume would deal with the national movement proves with certainty that the book published in Cairo is the third volume in question. The book is dedicated to 'Urābī.

4. - Twenty books on various subjects.(1) It is also presumed that the titles of nine books quoted after his death by his lifelong friend Aḥmad Samīr(2) are not Nadīm's own original titles, but were, perhaps, later changed by Nadīm himself or agreed upon in mutual consultation with Nadīm's brother 'Abd al-Fattāḥ and his two friends, Aḥmad Samīr and Maḥmud Waṣfī. This opinion is corroborated by the statement of Ismā'īl Pasha al-Baghdādī whose titles coincide with those given by Samīr. However, he differs from Samīr in that he fails to mention Kān wa Yakūn and the two plays, Al-Waṭan and Al-'Arab, and the satire Al-Masāmīr.

Aḥmad Samīr, who frequently visited Constantinople and was familiar with its libraries, made, in 1897, a statement to the effect that these books still existed, but were kept in Constantinople under lock and key waiting for release.(3) A corroborating statement comes from the Turkish Pasha Ismā'īl al-Baghdādī in his bibliography; it is very unlikely to have

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(1) For the names of these Books see Appendix, No.10 p. 658.

(2) For these titles see Appendix, No.11, p.658.

(3) Samīr, op.cit., p.20

been derived from Samīr, for it does not mention all the books enumerated by Samīr, but seems to be the outcome of an independent, personal search in the libraries of Constantinople. As Kān wa Yakūn, Al-Watan, Al-'Arab and Al-Masāmīr were published in Cairo, there is little probability of their having figured in Turkish libraries; this accounts for their absence from al-Baghdādī's list. Hence it can be inferred that the twenty books which Nadīm entrusted to his brother for the purpose of publication, but which were never published in reality, were returned to Nadīm by some means or other. Nadīm may have had a last minute change of mind and taken them to Constantinople, probably modifying or changing some of their titles. It can also be assumed that they were subsequently confiscated by the Sultan's emissaries during the search for Al-Masāmīr, and later transferred to the Sultanic libraries. The old Turkish libraries, however, are not open to the public and therefore not accessible to research while present circumstances prevail. It appears that these books are not in any of the Turkish libraries; the Turkish Embassy in London and the British Museum have, at my request, written to the Turkish Ministry of Education, asking them to inquire into the fate of Nadīm's literary remains, but both the answers were negative.

As to the subject matter of these twenty books, it is

discussed in general terms by Nadīm himself: "My thought is my friend", he wrote in a letter to a friend, "and my pen my companion; I transmit to it what is in my mind, it preserves it in written lines, and returns it to me as a book ... At times I occupy myself with chapters on Uṣūl, and collate the ideas of the Sunnīs; at other times I compose peerless poems in the form of Qaṣīdas, and at still another time I write literary epistles on different subjects. Sometimes I deal with the Ṣūfīs and their orders ... and sometimes with customs and ethics. Geography has not escaped my pen. Sometimes I travel from nation to nation on the boat of history, and at other times busy myself interpreting the variety of Badī' styles in eulogy of the Prophet ... by now, I have finished twenty books, large and small;"(1) Besides, Aḥmad Samīr refers to Muwaḥḥid al-Fuṣūl wa Jāmi' al-Uṣūl, as a work on linguistics.

Nadīm claims to have written, in this period, a book on the religious beliefs of the Samaritans based on discussions with the heads of their religious bodies during his tour of the holy places of Palestine early in 1892. He says: "We have written about the Samaritans a book, entitled Al-Tadhkirah al-'Āmirah bi Aḥwāl al-Sāmirah, in which we have discussed their religion, history and customs in a way in which no one has ever written before; the only other thing written about them is

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(1) Al-Ustādh, p.320

sporadic mentions, but what we have written is based on what we have taken from the mouth of their preachers and from their books."(1) Nadīm states that "We intend to publish this book soon".(2) Nevertheless, the book does not figure in the list which forms part of the account of his life published in Al-Ustādh,(3) nor is it mentioned by Samīr or al-Baghdādī after his death. Thus it may not be amiss to assume that this was one of the books lost before the publication of the list in Al-Ustādh. It is even possible that the book was never written at all.

V. FIFTH PERIOD, May 1892-June 1895

1. - Al-Ustādh (August 1892-June 1893)(4)

2. - Tahni'ah Saniyyah bil Afrāh al-Riyāḍiyyah; this book or rather pamphlet consisting of 8 pages was a collection of epithalamia composed in December 1892 on the occasion of the wedding of Riyāḍ Pasha's sons. In fact, only the introduction to the book was written by Nadīm; the poems themselves were written by others.

3. - 'Ādāb Ramaḍān, consisting of current reflections on the month of Ramaḍān, published in form of contributions under this collective heading in Al-Ustādh in 1893.(5) It was one of the series for men and women of the common

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(1) Al-Ustādh, p.259
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid, pp.1025,1026
(4) Cf. Chapter V of the thesis
(5) The series appeared in the issues of 21.28. March, 4.4.1893

people. It also contains Zajal whose recitation is very popular in Ramaḍān; the Zajal is an exhortation to fulfil the religious duties connected with Ramaḍān, moralising in its tone, critical of those Muslims who do not observe the fast, and praising those who respect the precepts of their religion. Though the subject is religious, he does not refrain from occasional criticisms of the social and political defects of the structure of the country,(1) and does not forget to eulogise his sponsor, the Khedive.(2) What he actually wrote consists of not more than three instalments of 32 pages in all, to which he never explicitly refers as a book.

VI. SIXTH PERIOD (June 1893-October 1896)

1. - Al-Masāmīr; a satire on Abū al-Hudā al Sayyādī. Only the first volume is preserved, but the book must have been intended to consist of more than one volume, for the story related by the narrator is not brought to a conclusion, and a second volume is announced. Only nine "Nails" are completed; they comprise 94 pages.

Nadīm who had a passion for writing and who, moreover, led a compulsorily idle life in Constantinople, must have composed many more books at that time. Whatever he wrote at that

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(1) ʾĀdāb Ramaḍān, pp.9-12, 17-19

(2) Ibid., p.20

time, has, however, vanished without trace, presumably either confiscated by the police or taken away by his friends, as has been mentioned above.

It is more than likely that most of the books written by Nadīm are not books in the real sense of the word; some are obviously merely pamphlets, articles or Qaṣīdahs. Thus Al-Sāniḥah fī 'Ulūm al-Fātiḥah seems to have been an article about Badī' style; it appeared later under the title Ḥusn al-Ibtidā'.(1) It is an analysis, from the Badī' point of view, of the Fātiḥah Sūrah in which he believes to have found ninety-six kinds of Badī' figures. Neither is Waṭaniyyat al-Sharq a book in the strict sense; it is merely a Qaṣīdah.(2) In any case, the size of the works preserved is small; when Nadīm's brother, 'Abd al-Fattāh, and his lifelong friends, Maḥmud Waṣfī and Aḥmad Samīr, collected the manuscripts then available, added a selection from Al-Tankīt wa al-Tabkīt and Al-Ustādh and published the whole under the title Sulāfat al-Nadīm fī Muntakhabāt 'Abd Allāh al-Nadīm,(3) it filled only two volumes. A third volume was announced, but was never published. Though the editors did not give any of the manuscripts edited the title of books, it is obvious that they are identical with the books mentioned by Nadīm in the list in Al-Ustādh. They may

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(1) Cf. Sulāfah, vol.II, pp.4-13

(2) Cf. Kān wa Yakūn, vol.I, p.7; also Al-Ustādh, pp.563-567

(3) The first volume published in 1897

have been parts of books, but this is extremely unlikely, for if the editors had been in possession of entire manuscripts, they would have had no reasons to limit themselves to the publication of excerpts. Besides, they would at least have mentioned the fact, as they did in the case of the lost epistles. In fact, they were only too eager to publish anything Nadīm had written.

Indeed, the haste with which Nadīm often announced that he had written a book, when he had hardly conceived the idea of writing one, seems to be characteristic of him; this was the case with the above mentioned Al-Tadhkirah al-'Āmirah bi Aḥwāl al Sāmirah and 'Āthār al-Insāniyyah which never appeared at all, in spite of having been announced in public. The book entitled Maqālat 'Abd Allāh al-Nadīm is only a collection of eleven articles previously published in Al-Ustādh.

Finally, the fact is worth mentioning that the Dīwān entitled Ḥanīn al-Nadīm, published in Beirut in 1934 which C. Brockelmann in his Geschichte der arabischen Literatur[1] erroneously attributes to the Egyptian 'Abd Allāh Nadīm al-Idrīsī, is in reality the work of the Lebanese 'Abd Allāh Nadīm Mūyāl. Undoubtedly the similarity of the names must have been at the root of this confusion.

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(1) Third Supplementary Volume, p.332

CONCLUSIONS.

Nadīm was one of these Protean figures whom nature produces only at great intervals, a man of enormous versatility who excelled in many fields and could have excelled in all, if the many various talents with which Providence had endowed him had been adequately developed. Had he gone to the pains to complete his education methodically; had he had the opportunity of learning foreign languages to gain first-hand experience of Western culture; had he become acquainted with Western literature, especially the drama at which he tried his hand with some success, "he would have become, without any doubt, a famous literary figure of international importance, and any country would feel proud to claim him as her son".(1)

The fact that Nadīm stands on the borderline dividing - or joining - two periods, results, as may well be expected, in a mixture of medieval and modern elements. Modern is the general smoothness of his writing, especially in narrative passages, and the framework of his essays; medieval are his metaphors and similes, and his love of Badī'. He was greatly

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(1) Al-Dusūqī, Fī al-Adab, vol.I, p.281

responsible for the Renaissance of Arabic literature, and contributed, to a large extent, to the ensuing decisive change in literary style and literary aims. He made literature the instrument of social, political and religious reform. In journalism he gave his attention, first and foremost, to the meaning, casting out meaningless ornaments and Badī' figures, and did not force on the meaning unsuitable words for the mere sake of their sound. He also trained his pupils in writing articles for the press on social and political subjects, and gave them practice in public speaking.

In his journalistic career, Nadīm inclined towards an elegant diction, or to a kind of dialogue in conversational style "you could listen to indefinitely without listlessness or boredom".(1) Thus Nadīm was nearer to the hearts of his people than any other of his contemporaries. Though he was less highly educated than some of them, he was the journalist of the whole nation, high or low, educated or uneducated. Among the journalists of the national movement, he was the most capable of propagating its aims and targets. If journalism is of two kinds, popular and what is nowadays called high-brow, with two corresponding ways of expression, the popular and the sophisticated one, it must be admitted

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(1) Ḥamzah, op.cit., vol.II, p.188

that Nadīm was superior to his contemporaries since he was capable of addressing both sectors of his public in a way suitable for each.

Nadīm was the first to realise that, from the viewpoint of style, the needs of journalism greatly differ from both fiction and everyday speech. While pure literature must be fastidious in its choice of words, laying great stress on the rhythm and music of its style, and everyday speech is entirely negligent and casual, the journalistic article must choose the golden mean by avoiding each of these two extremes. It must use an easy, lucid, simple, but nevertheless literary style which is easily accessible to high and low, educated and uneducated alike, and appeals to both in the same degree; to sin either on the side of complication or excessive simplicity would impair its value as an instrument of propaganda. In this aspect, Nadīm occupies an intermediate place between the pedantic style of Adīb Isḥāq and Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī on the one hand, and the casual, almost colloquial style of 'Alī Yūsuf and Jurjī Zaydān on the other. His articles are the prototypes of the so-called "journalistic essay", so common in present day Egyptian journalism. "If we assess the three representatives of journalism at that time, that is to say Muḥammad 'Abduh, Adīb Isḥāq and 'Abd Allāh Nadīm, we must say that ... if we deal with literary talent

which each of the three possesses, we need not go to excessive pains to prove that the literary talent of Nadīm was greater than that of Muḥammad 'Abduh and equal to that of Adīb Isḥāq."(1)

If Nadīm had devoted his attention to drama, especially its comic variety, "he would have become the Molière of the Arab world"(2), for he was capable of creating and presenting characters, and then scoffing at them with bitter sarcasm; he also had the ability of magnifying social defects to show up their ugliness. He had the elements of a successful comic playwright, and could have written magnificent comedies.

He was also the pioneer of the renaissance of the popular song, and it was mainly due to his efforts that it was raised to the level of poetry. He composed Zajal in great quantity and with great success, mostly improvising them on the spur of the moment, and "none of the famous Zajjālīn could equal his easy flow of verse".(3) By founding a school of Zajal for his followers and disciples, he transmitted his love of this art form and some of his proficiency in it to a new generation of famous Zajjālīn.

"He was sweet of tongue and brilliant of wit; if he

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(1) Ḥamzah, op.cit., vol.II, p.192
(2) Al-Dusūqī FĪ al-Adab, vol.I, p.281
(3) Yakān, op.cit., vol.I, p.28

showed the tendency to be concise in his talk, the listener wished he would never finish. I met him ... and found in him a man with the cleverness of Iyās and the eloquence of Saḥbān".(1)

As an orator, he was the most impressive speaker of his time. "It saves me the burden of proof that the foreign and Arabic newspapers are unanimous in calling him 'the Orator of the East'. He was also the first to stand up against oppression...".(2)

'Abd Allāh Nadīm was the "Tyrtaeus of the national movement" whose flaming eloquence did more to promote the cause of Egyptian nationalism than any other contributory factor. His contemporary Aḥmad Taymūr compared him with Saḥbān Wā'il the great orator of the early days of Islam (died 54A.H.); Waliyy al-Dīn Yakan, another contemporary, compared him with 'Amr ibn Kulthūm, the great leader, orator and poet of the pre-Islamic era.

Be that as it may, he was the most unusual figure of his age. "You may say what you like", says al-'Āqqād, "of 'Abd Allāh Nadīm's poetry or oratory, prose or scientific work or his literary talent, but you cannot deny that his was the most unusual personality among the figures of modern Arabic literature. If you look for a similar figure which plays so

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(1) Taymūr, op.cit., pp.27-28

(2) Samīr, op.cit., p.19

many parts - and they usually appear only at the onset of a renaissance movement or a revolution - you will find no one to resemble him ... In our renaissance there is no other figure, with so many aspects, to equal Nadīm".(1)

Nadīm was a man with a mission, a dedicated man who sincerely devoted all his life to the service of his nation. He amassed no worldly goods: he lived poor and died poor. He was persecuted and banished and spent ten years in the wilderness, but his convictions remained unshaken. "He was a dutiful son,kind to his parents and his family, and generous even towards the unknown. He never lent money and asked it back, he never refused alms to a beggar, he was brave and never bowed to the powerful, but was full of humility with the poor. He was very clever and had a retentive memory, he was eloquent and a gifted writer of poetry and prose."(2)

Realising that it was the only way to make an effective stand against foreign domination, he made the unity of the East which alone could guarantee the sovereignty and independence of the Eastern nations his main political aim. He was dreaming of Islamic unity, an Arab league which would consolidate the Eastern peoples into one Oriental block to rank in the world on an equal footing with the Western countries. He wanted to ressuscitate the Arab glory of the past, and to do so he had to undermine the European domination of the

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(1) Al-'Āqqād, Shu'arā' Misr, pp.96-97

(2) Zaydān, Mashāhīr, vol.II, pp.111-112

Islamic countries.

Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī found in him a sincere and faithful disciple, the torch-bearer of reform, and often stressed his appreciation of Nadīm's strength of conviction, devotion to the cause, his logical reasoning and argumentative power. "He declared, at many gatherings, that he had never met, in all his life, another person so fiery minded and clear thinking and firm of belief and lucid of proof and capable of using the right word in the right place side by side with its meaning with pen and tongue".(1)

Nadīm should be remembered, in the history of Egypt, not only as a pillar of the first national movement, but also as a bridge between the two stages of modern Egypt's struggle for liberty.

But his crowning glory is that he was the only leader of the national movement whose beliefs were not shaken by defeat. His morale never weakened, nor was his spiritual strength crushed beyond hope of recovery by the cruel reaction born of shipwrecked hopes and the agony of despair. "Egypt for the Egyptians" was the main axiom of his political creed, and he continued his fight for this principle even under the occupation, until he gave up his breath. If this were the only proof of his greatness, it would suffice to secure for him a prominent place among the heroes of his nation.

APPENDICES.

رقم ١

1

اتجه الأدباتي الى [نديم] وقال :

انعم بقرشك يا جندي ... والا اكسنا امال يا افندي

الا انا وحياتك عندي ... بقى لي شهرين طول جيعان

فقلت على سبيل المزح معه

أما الفلوس انا مديشي ... وانت تقول لي ما مشيش

يطلع على حشيشي ... أقوم املص لك لودان

رقم ٢

2

نديم يقتبس من القرآن

قال من رسالة لصديق :

لا حول ولا قوة الا بالله ، اشتيه المراقب بالاه × واستبدل الحلو بالمر ، وقدم الرقيق على الحر × وبيع الدر بالخزف ، والخز (١) بالخسف × وأظهر كل لئيم كبره ، ان في ذلك لعبره × سمعنا سمعا : قالوا شكاة ان سعوا لا يعقلوا " ويحبون أن يحمدوا بما لم (٢) يفعلوا " × فكيف تشترون منهم القار في صفة العنبر ، " وما تخفي (٣) صدورهم أكبر " وكيف تسمع الاحباب لمن نهى منهم وزجر ، (٤) " ولقد جاءهم من الانباء ما فيه مزدجر ... "

وهكذا يمضي نديم فيذكر فاصلة من عنده وآية من القرآن حتى يتم ٤٩ اقتباسا (٥) في هذه الرسالة .

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١) قرآن سورة النازعات ، آية رقم ٢٦

٢) قرآن سورة آل عمران ، آية رقم ١٨٨

٣) قرآن سورة آل عمران ، آية رقم ١١٨

٤) قرآن سورة القمر ، آية رقم ٤ — (٥) الرسالة كاملة انظر سلافة ج ١ ص ٣٥ — ٣٦

رقم ٣ 3

سجعتان داخل السجعة الأصلية :

" ... الا أنه لم يعرض البضاعة ، على أهل الصناعة من أول الأمر × بل لزم حده ، ومكث مده على نار الجمر × واستصحب الجلد ، ودار البلد لمعرفة السلع × حتى عرف الجديد من الرث والثمين من الغث ، من الجواهر والخلع × فرأى الناس يتهاودون بالمواهب مع اختلاف المذاهب في المعاملة × وكل ينادي على بضاعته ويفتخر بصناعته حتى يكدر آمله (١) × ... "

رقم ٤ 4

ثلاث سجعات داخل السجعة الاصلية :

" ... فرجع الى الشاه الكبير ، الجليل الأمير ، السيد الشهير ، تاج النبهاء × بدر الكرام ، وراوي الأوام ، على باب السلام ، ونفس النزاهه × لسان العرب ، ومعين الأدب ، عريق النسب ، طاهر الاخلاق × روض البيان ، ثبت الجنان ، حلو اللسان سليم الاذواق (٢) × ... "

رقم ٥ 5

اربع سجعات داخل السجعة الاصلية :

" ... غلب الوجد فلا عتب ولا ملام ونأى الحب فلا وصل ولا منام ، وما شكوت من سهر ولا سقام ، ولا رغبت في كسب ولا مقام ، ولكنها الأيام × رأت منيتي بالمقام الأسنى ، وقد ملك فؤادي بسيرته الحسنى ، فلما رأى اغصان محبتي ماليت اليه لتجني ، دنا فتدلى فكان قاب قوسين أو أدنى ، ثم انصرف بسلام × فذبلت لبعده أغصاني ، ووقفت

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١) انظر سلافه جـ ١ ص ٢٥
٢) انظر سلافه جـ ١ ص ٢٥

لصده أجفاني ، وجرت بعتبه أعياني ، وحسن كلامه أعياني ، وهذه عادة المدام × ••••(١)

رقم ٦ 6

نديم يدخل الكلمات الاجنبية والعلمية في كتابته :—

" ••• لا زالت الافراح تخدم موائدهم، وأيام السرور تحمد عوائدهم ••• وجيد أيامهم مطوقا بصافي ابريزهم، وسماء وجودهم منيرة بشمس عزهم × القوة الفعالة في النفوس ، والمغناطيس الجاذب نور الشموس × ونسيم اللطف منه اوكسيجين الحياة، وزلال اللطف الذي فيه ادروجين المياه × والواسطة بين الذات والفوتوغراف ، والقوة الموصلة سلوك التلغراف × وميكرسكوب النظر القوي والضعيف، وبارومتر النسيم اللطيف × •••(٢) "

رقم ٧ 7

من المسمار الثالث حول قصة آدم وابليس :—

" ••• كنت [ابليس] طاووس الملائكة ، وعلوت عروش الحق وأرائكه × قد عرفت ربي بالدليل والبرهان ، كأني أشاهده بالعيان × فوحدته وعبدته، وقدسته ومجدته × ••• وبينما أنا الاطف بين الملائكة وأنادم ، قال ربك للملائكة اسجدوا لآدم × ••• فعصيته في حضرته ، وأنا أعلم باهر قوته •• يقول الله : ما منعك أن تسجد لما خلقت بيدي(٣) ، وأنا كاره لاستعلاء آدم علي × فقلت قول الشياطين : أنا خير منه خلقتني

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١) انظر سلافه جـ ١ ص ٥٣ ــ ٥٤
٢) انظر سلافه جـ ١ ص ٥١
٣) قرآن سورة صاد آية رقم ٧٥

من نار وخلقته من طين[1] ×.. وطال الجدال ، الى أن قال: × اخرج منها مذموما مدحورا[2] ، فوقفت وقد ملئت خبثا وشرورا × وقلت: انظرنى الى يوم يبعثون[3] ، حتى اتم الأمر المحتوم ، فقال: انك من المنظرين[4] الى يوم الوقت المعلوم[5] × فقلت: فبعزتك لا غوينهم أجمعين الا عبادك منهم المخلصين[6] × وحيث صرت لآدم عدوا ضليلا ، لأحتنكن ذريته الا قليلا[7] × ... " ومضى نديم فذكر ١٦ آية من القرآن فى هذا المسمار .

8

رقم ٨

من المسمار السابع محمد الرسول وابليس يتناقشان حول صحة نبوة الرسول محمد عليه الصلاه والسلام :-

" ... وقد انقطعت حجتى فى أمى يقيم البرهان على صحة دينه وما تقدم من الاديان × ان قلت للناس هذا يغير دينكم بلا اشتباه ، يقول[8]: " يا أهل الكتاب تعالوا الى كلمة سواء بيننا وبينكم ان لا نعبد الا الله " ... وان قلت : ربما كتم محمد شيئا ليدارى حالته ، يقول: يا أيها الرسول بلغ ما أنزل اليك من ربك وان لم تفعل فما بلغت رسالته[9]

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١) قرآن سورة الأعراف آيه رقم ١٢
٢) قرآن " " " " ١٨
٣) قرآن " " " " ١٤
٤) قرآن " " " " ١٥
٥) قرآن " صاد " " ٨٢
٦) قرآن " الاسراء " " ٦٢
٧) المسمار الثانى كاملا فى المسامير ج ١ ص ١٢ - ١٩
٨) قرآن سورة آل عمران ايه رقم ٦٤
٩) قرآن سورة المائدة آيه رقم ٦٧

وان قلت : ربما استبد بقهر من زاغ ، يقول: "ما على الرسول الا البلاغ" × (١)
وان قلت : انما ابتدع هذا ليربط الناس بحبله ، يقول: "قل لو شاء الله
ما تلوته عليكم ولا ادراكم به فقد لبثت فيكم عمرا من قبله" × ... (٢) ومضت
المناقشة حتى أتم نديم ٢٩ اقتباسا من القرآن في هذا المسمار (٣)

رقم ٩ 9

من المسمار الثامن وهو مناقشة بين الرسول محمد وابليس حول وحدانية الله :

" ... أقول لكل انسان ان يسمي أي شيء الها بلا نكير ولا لوم ، فيقول: "الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تأخذه سنة ولا نوم" (٤) × أقول : هو الله وله شركاء من كل حي ، فيقول : "الله الذي خلقكم ثم رزقكم ثم يميتكم ثم يحييكم هل من شركائكم من يفعل من ذلكم من شيء" (٥) × أقول : هو الخالق ولكنه ترك للطبيعة التطوير والانشاء ، فيقول : "الله الذي خلقكم من ضعف ثم جعل من بعد ضعف قوة ثم جعل من بعد قوة ضعفا وشيبة يخلق ما يشاء" (٦) × ... أقول لم يبق اختراع أحسن من صورة الانسان بشهادة من يعقلون ، فيقول : وما نحن بمسبوقين على أن نبدل أمثالكم

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١) قرآن كريم سورة المائدة آيه رقم ٩٩
٢) قرآن كريم سورة يونس آيه رقم ١٦
٣) المسمار السابع كاملا في المسامير ص ج ١ ص ٦٣ ـ ٧٢
٤) قرآن سورة البقرة آية رقم ٢٥٥
٥) قرآن سورة الروم آية رقم ٤٠
٦) قرآن سورة الروم آية رقم ٤٥

وننشئكم فيما لا تعلمون[1] » أقول تعدد الصور والأجناس يقضى بفواعل متعدده ، فيقول : ما خلقكم ولا بعثكم الا كنفس واحدة[2] ، أقول : كيف يكون البعث وهم متبددون ، فيقول : ولقد علمتم النشأة الأولى أفلا تذكرون[3] » ... "

وبعض نديم فيذكر في هذا الحوار ١١٦ أية تدل على اثبات الوحدانية لله سبحانه وتعالى[4]

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١) قرآن سورة الواقعة آيه رقم ٦٠

٢) قرآن سورة لقمان آيه رقم ٢٨

٣) قرآن سورة الواقعه آيه رقم ٦٢

٤) المسمار كاملا ، انظر المسامير جـ ١ ص ٧٣ ـ ٨٤

10

رقم

اسماء الكتب التى ذكر نديم أنه ألفها فى الاختفاء ١٨٨٢ـ١٨٩٢: "كان ويكون ٣ أجزاء ـ الاحتفاء فى الاختفاء ـ السانحة فى علوم الفاتحة ـ الآلام واللذات فى اتصال الروح بالذات ـ صرف الوصمة عن صرف العصمة ـ وفد البديع على باب الشفيع ـ خلاصة ما كان فى ليس فى الأمكان أبدع مما كان ـ الفرائد ـ طهارة القلوب والأفواه فى شرح لا إله الا الله ـ حلة الأنوار لمادح المختار ـ سيف الموحد فى نحر الملحد ـ ترصيع الماس فى خبر الناس ـ مأتم البكى على آل النبى ـ وطنية الشرق ـ النحله فى الرحله ـ السكر النبات فى تربية البنين والبنات ـ نحن وانتم ـ انقاذ البليد من ورطة التقليد ـ الدر النفيس فى تاريخ بنى ادريس ـ نيل الأرب فى اخبار العرب"(١)

رقم 11

قائمة باسماء بعض الكتب التى قال احمد سمير إن نديم الفها فى الاختفاء:

"... منها: النحله فى الرحله ـ الاحتفاء فى الاختفاء ـ الشرك فى المشترك ـ كتاب فى المترادفات ـ وآخر فى اللغة سماه موحد الفصول وجامع الأصول ـ الفرائد فى العقائد ـ اللآلئ والدرر فى فواتح السور ـ البديع فى مدح الشفيع ـ أمثال العرب"(٢)

رقم 12

نديم يعارض قصيدة المتنبى التى مطلعها:

أقل فعالى بله أكثره مجد وذا الجد فيه نلت أو لم أنل جد

قال نديم:

سيوف الثنا تصدا وقولى الغمد ومن سار فى نصرى تكفله الحمد

....

---

١) انظر الاستاذ ص ١٠٢٥ ـ ١٠٢٦

٢) انظر سلافه جـ ١ ص ٢٠ ـ ٢١

ومن عجب الأيام شهم أخو حجا ... يعارضه غر ويفحمه وغد
ومن غرر الاخلاق أن تهدر الدما ... لتحفظ أعراض تكفلها المجد
.....

رقم 13

مثال من غزله المصطنع واستعماله البديع :

لست الملول مع التدلل والنوى ... ان لم يكن روحي على هجري نوى
مادام يرضى منيتي فقد استوت ... عندي الاقامة في شبين أو نوى
اطعمته أثمار ودي كلها ... وغذيت من تمر المحبة بالنوى

رقم 14

من قصيدة لنديم يصف القطار

نظر الحكيم صفاته فتحيرا ... شكلا كطود بالبخار مسيرا
دوما يحن الى ديار أصوله ... بحديد قلب باللهيب تسعرا
ويظل يبكي والدموع تزيده ... وجدا فيجري في الفضاء تسترا
تلقاه حال السير أفعى تلتوي ... أو فارس الهيجا أثار العثيرا
أو سبع غاب قد أحس بصائد ... في غابه فعدا عليه وزمجرا
.....
لا عجب للنيران اذ يمشي بها ... فمن اللظى تجري الورى كي تحشرا (1)

رقم 15

من قصيدة لنديم بعنوان الوطن :

.....
هل في القصور رجال غير من عظموا ... بما لدينا وكانوا من موالينا

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1) القصيدة كاملة انظر سلافه جـ 1 ص ٣٩

أو فى الديار أناس غير من وفدوا ... من القفار فصاروا فى مبانينا
هذى معالمنا تبكى وتنشدنا ... قول ابن زيدون اذ قامت تعزينا
بنتم وبنا فما ابتلت جوانحنا ... شوقا اليكم ولا جفت مآقينا
لو أننا مثل أهل الأرض فى همم ... ما قام يندبنا أحبا مغنينا
قل للنفوس التى ماتت بلا أجل ... أين القلوب التى كانت تجارينا
أين الشيوخ الألى ساروا وسيرتهم ... مسك زكى يباهى مسك دارينا
أين العلوم التى كانت توصلنا ... بباب السعود فصارت من أعادينا
أين الصنائع أين العارفين بها ... أين الديار التى كانت لأهلينا
كانت وكانوا وصار الكل فى عدم ... واستعبدتنا بما نهوى أمانينا

.....

اذا سمعنا خطيبا ذاكرا حكما ... قلنا له عزة الآباء تكفينا

.....

فاجمع من القوم من ترضى خلائقه ... واجعل لكل من الأعضا قوانينا (1)
وشدد الأمر حتى لا يضيع سدى ... واجعل زمامك فيه العدل واللينا

.....

16

رقم

من قصيدة لنديم يحمس الجند فى المعركة ويستحث الأمة على صد العدو سنة ١٨٨٢ على لسان الحرب :

بنى العرب هيا لا يعيش جبان ... فجسمى وروحى همة وجنان
أنا النار تذكو غير أن لهيبها ... به العرض فى وسط الوجود يصان
انا الدرع الحمراء يعرف قيمتى ... شجاع له وقت النزال طعان
أنا الجنة الفيحاء لا بن شهادة ... ونار لديها الانجليز تهان

.....

---

(1) القصيدة كاملة انظر سلافه جزء ١ ص ١٣٠ ـ ١٣٢

أديروا بنى مصر رحاى على العدى ... فليس لاهل البغى بعد أمان
لكم وطن لا يعرف الحسن غيره ... فان لم تكونوا حافظيه بهان
....
وردوا عدوا يبتغى بقتالكم ... ديارا يراها مسجد وجمان
أرده الليالى السود بالضرب فى الضحى ... ليعرفه بعد الحروب هوان
....
وردّوا لهذا القطر أول مجده ... ففى يدكم من ساكنيه عنان (١)

17

رقم

من قصيدة فى الغزل استعمل فيها الألفاظ العلمية :

....
ووعود الملاح للعين مدت ... تلفونا منها الى الاعماق
ومشير اللهيب فسفور جسمى ... وارتجافى يد ينميت الفراق
تطبع العين فى السويدا رسوما ... بالفوتغراف من قدود رشاق
واذا اظلمت مسالك قلبى ... نورتها بكهربا الاشواق
صرت أحكى السماع من غير فكر ... كالفنغراف من عظيم اشتياقى (٢)
ووريدى مع الشرايين أمسى ... منبع الغاز من فحوم احتراقى
....

18

رقم

ومن قصيدة لنديم يعارض لامية الطغرائى التى مطلعها :

أصالة الرأى صانتنى عن الخطل ... وحلية الفضل زانتنى لدى العطل (٣)

---

١) القصيدة كاملة انظر الطائف ١/٩/١٨٨٢
٢) القصيدة كاملة انظر الاستاذ ص ٨٧ ـ ٨٨
٣) القصيدة كاملة انظر الزيات تاريخ الأدب العربى ص ٢٨٢

قال نديم :

أصالة المجد تأصيل لآل عـــلى ... ووصلة الفضل توصيل لكل عـــلى
فافخر بنفسك إن جاريت مصدرها ... وانزل عن المجد إن قصرت في العمل
بمن إذا نمت في بطن الخمول ترى ... مثيل حر يداني النجم بالحـول
خل العظام لمن احيوا لها شـرفا ... وجد في الفضل جد العامل الأصل
واحمل متاعك في وعر المراد على ... صدق العزيمة لا بكـر ولاجمـل (1)
.....

19

رقم

من قصيدة لنديم في الفخر يعارض معلقة عمرو بن كلثـوم :

قال نديـم :

أتحسبنـا إذا قلنـا بلينـا ... بكينا أو يروم القلب لينـا
نعم للمجد نقتحم الـدواهـي ... فيحسب خامل أنـا دهينـا
تناوشنا فتقهرنـا خطـوب ... ترى ليث العرين لها قرينـا
.....
اذا ما الدهر صافانا مرضنـا ... فأن عدنا إلى خطب شفينـا
.....
ولسنا الساخطين إذا رُزِئنـا ... نعم يلقى القضا قلبـا رزينـا
.....
وأن شئنا نثرنا القـول درًّا ... وأن شئنا نظمناه ثمينـا
وأن شئنا سَلَبْنَا كل لـب ... وان شئنا سحرنا المنشئينـا
.....
سلوا عنا منا برنـا فـأنا ... تركنا في منصتها فطينـا

---

1) القصيدة كاملة انظر الاستاذ ص ٢٧٢ ـ ٢٧٥

لحكمتنـــا تقـــول اذا هذرتـــم (١) الا هبي بصحنك فاصبحينـــا

.....

20

رقم

من قصيدة لنديم بدأهـــا بالنسيب ثم تخلص الى مدح بيت الرسول عليـــه الصلاة والســـلام :

بـــين الســـرائـــر والســـريـــر هام الفرزدق مع جريـــــر

هذى بها نـــار الجـــــوى ثارت وذا فيـــه المثـــير

وســـنان لكـــن جفنـــــه يســـطو عـــلى بيت الضمير

ثمل بصـــرف الحســـــن لا خمـــــر يكونـــها العصير

.....

فكأنها فـــــى لطـــفهـــــا مـــدحى محمـــدا الأمـــير

بالمجـــد مصبـــاح الهـــدى بلـــغ الفخـــار بلا نظـــير

وبمجـــد إدريـــس رقـــــى مـــن ســـلم العليـــا الكثـــير

.....

نسب كنـــور الشـــمس لـــم ينكـــره ذو طـــرف حســـير

رفع الاعاظـــم فـــــوق عـــر ش المجـــد إذا أقصى الحقـــير

هم مورد الفضـــل الكبـــــير ومصـــــدر الخـــير الغـــزير

حســـدوا على فضـــل الالـــه بنـــص قـــرآن القديـــر (٢)

.....

رقم

من زجل نديم في النصيحة : (من باب كان ويكـــون)

.....

اسمع كلام نديـــــــم من طيـــه كل الســـرور

---

١) انظر الاستاذ للقصيدة كاملة ص٨٩ ـ ٨٩٣ ـ (٢) القصيدة كاملة انظر الاستاذ ص٣٢٢ ـ ٣٢٦

واعقل نصيحة حبر ... يدعوك للعرفان
لا تستخف بخصم ... لو كان من أوهى الطيور
واصفح فكل صفوح ... يعلو على الأعيان
واخش اللئيم دواما ... فاللؤم داع للشرور (1)
واحفظ مودة حر ... في عهده ما خان
.....

21

رقم

من زجل نديم في الفخر

.....

فخر مثلي في بيانه ... والغبي يفخر بماله
والأدب أحسن صفاتي ... فالذكي حسنه كماله
واللبيب يظهر بعلمه ... والغلام مجده جماله
كل قول المرء يغني (2) ... غير محمود المآثر
.....

22

رقم

من زجل نديم في الغزل :

.....

يا هل الصبايا يا عشاق ... سلوا المشتاق ... فالعشق ما لو غير أهله
أشكو اليكم أحزاني ... بل هجراني ... من أهيف صادني نبله
أهيف بنظره في خده ... خدني عبده ... وجت سقامي تشهد له
وأدمعي نزلت تجري ... تنظر صدري ... رأت فؤادي بيرقص له
.....

---

1) الزجل كاملا انظر الاستاذ ص ٩٨٨ ـ ٩٨٩

2) الزجل كاملا انظر الاستاذ ص ٩٨٩ ـ ٩٩١

العشق ترياق الارواح ويا الاشباح دنا الذي طاب لي نهله (1)

.....

رقم 23

من زجل نديم في الاصلاح الاجتماعي :

أهل البنوكا والأطيان صاروا على الاعيان اعيان

وابن البلد ماشي عريان معاه ولا حق الدخان

شرم برم حالي غلبان

يا ما نصحتك يا بنجر وقلت لك أوعا بعجر

فضلت تسكر وتفنجر لما صبح بيتك خربان

شرم برم حالي غلبان

الحق عندك يا خويه ياللي طليت وشك بويه

ولبست سروال ابو أويه ومشيت تقلد لي النسوان

شرم برم حالي غلبان

.....

بعنا العمايم بالطربوش والعري بالتوب المنقوش

صبحت بلادنا للمغشوش مورد وصانعها ظمآن

شرم برم حالي غلبان

شوف الجهالة يا سيدنا اللي جلبناها بايدنا

حتى صبحنا يوم عيدنا نسمع بلادنا تنشدنا

شرم برم حالي غلبان (2)

.....

---

1) الزجل كاملا انظر الاستاذ ص ٩٩٣ ـ ٩٩٤

2) الزجل كاملا انظر التنكيت ٧/٨/١٨٨١ ص ١٤٩ ـ ١٥١

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من زجل نديم في الموعظة الدينية :

اللـــه وليـــك يا صـــــايم	ياللي على دينـــك ماســـــك
المفطـــرين عملـــوا ولايـــم	وأنت في المسجـــد ناســـــك
.....	.....
الدين بيبكي في الطرقـــــات	عـــلى اللـي باعـــه بالخمـــره
والتقـــوى تنـــدب بالطـــارات	على اللي فاتهـــا بالمـــرة
.....	
عجب عجب للناس دولـــــه	باعـــوا عقولهـــم قبل الديـــن (1)
واصبحـــوا عار في الدولـــة	واللـه زمتهـــم زي الطـــين
.....	.....

رقم 25

من زجل نديم في هجاء مقلدي الأوروبيين :

.....	.....
ضحكت على عقولنـــا الخواجـــات	والـــديـــن مـــات
والكل متهـــاون غفـــــلان	
.....	.....
اسأل بقى جـــورجي ويـــني	مـــوش تســـألـــني
تلـقى الفـــلوس راحـت اليونان	
.....	.....
ضحكت أوربـــا على عقـــولكـــم	لاجـــل تطـــولكـــم
بالخمـــر والقـــول والنســـوان	
.....	.....
اللي يقلـــد أوربـــــى	فـــى دا الشـــرب
ما يقلـــده في حب الأوطـــان	

---

1) الزجل كاملا انظر آداب رمضان الملحق بالاستاذ ١٨٩٣/٣/٢٨ ص٩ ـ ١٢

. . . . . .

آدى المصايب ولا بلاش يا أوباش
(1)
بتم لأوربا عبدان

. . . . . .

رقم 26

من زجل نديم فى السياسة بعد الاحتلال البريطانى لمصر :

. . . . . .

انظر الى بلد الأخيار مصر الأمصار تلقى الجميع عرفى الصدمه
واتنبهت كل الافكار من دى الاسرار وصمت تمحو الغمه

. . . . . .

وادخل مجامع أعيانه مع شبانه تلقى الجميع قام من نومه
دارت دواليب الافكار حول الأطوار اللى سابتنا فى الظلمه

. . . . . .

دبت حرارة وطنية فى الجمعية والكل ساعى فى الخدمة
ما احلى اجتماع شبان مصر فى دار العصر بسر توحيد الكلمة

. . . . . .

فتحوا مجامع أدبيه بل سياسيه تشفى الوطن من سوء سقمه

. . . . . .

لابد للحال من آخر لا تتاخر واصبر تنل حفظ الحرمة
(2)

. . . . . .

رقم

من زجل نديم فى صراعه مع المقطم :

. . . . . .

---

1) الزجل كاملا انظر آداب رمضان ملحق الاستاذ ٤/٤/١٨٩٣ ص١٧ — ٢٠
2) الزجل كاملا انظر الاستاذ ٢٢/٥/١٨٩٣ ص٨٥٨ — ٨٦٢ .

قالوا رجال مصر العرفا مثل الضعفا ما يعرفوش غير البرمه
والشيخ والشبان نامـوا بل لو قاموا ما كان قيامهم غير زحمه
أثر كلامهم فى العقلا ويا النبلا فما رضى حد بشتمه
ومن يرى شتم اللؤما لبنى الكرما وينام على فرشه غمه
....
ظهروا دعاه للعرفان بين الاخوان والكل مسرور بفهمه
وبينوا غش الأجرا والكل جرى يبدى النصيحة من حزنه
....
وحياة أبوك بكره تسمع من ذا المجمع لما تجى اوقات غنمه
..... (١)

27

رقم

من شعر نديم على لسان جنى من اتباع ابليس يصف هزيمة الشيطان بعد أن سلبه نفوذه مارد جديد هو أبو الهدى الصيادى :

ابليس أضحى فى شديد مصاب يشكو كزور الهم والأوصاب
كان الأمام لكافر ولجاحد ولعابدى الأوثان والأنصاب
....
والآن أصبح حائرا فى أمره فى حالة المذعور والمرتاب
سُلِبَ النفوذ وصار أحقر كائن ويود أن يغدو دفين ترابِ
قد جاءه شيطان انس مارد فأضله عن نهج كل صوابِ
ولذا ترى أبناءه فى ثورة قصدوا بها اعدامه بحرابِ (٢)
....

من شعر نديم على لسان ابليس الرجيم يشكو حاله بعد أن غلبه أبو الهدى فى عالم الضلال :

28

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١) الزجل كاملا انظر الاستاذ ١٨٩٣/٥/٢٢ ص ٨٥٨ ـ ٨٦٢
٢) القصيده كامله انظر المسامير جـ ١ ص ٦ ـ ٧

أنا الذى ما شكوت الدهر من أحد ... ولا بليت بفقد الأهل والولد
أنا الذى سقت أهل الغى قاطبة ... الى الجحيم فكانوا طعمة الوقد
.....
حتى دهيت بملعون بخدعته ... هدت قواى وضاع العزم من خلدى
أضل قوما بما أرضاه من عمل ... وقال إنى أنا الكفار بالأحد
ثم استقل بأفعالى ووسوس لى ... حتى أثار شياطينى ومعتمدى
.....
أواه أواه من فعل اللئيم وما ... ألقاه فى القلب منهم ومن كمد (1)

29

رقم

من شعر نديم على لسان ابليس يصف فيها غواياته لبنى البشر :

أطوف بلاد الله من فرحى وحدى ... وأبعث للاحيا الوساوس مع جندى
ملكت رقابا ما دروا مجد أصلهم ... ولا عرفوا فضل السجود مع الحمد
أبوهم علا فى حضرة الحق قدره ... وهم نزلوا تحت الحضيض بلا عود
.....
فكل ملوك الأرض جاءوا لملكهم ... بحرب وضرب والعناء مع الكد
.....
وملكى استوى من غير ضرب مدافع ... وما احتجت للجمع الكثير ولا النفد
أقول هلموا فالشيوخ تجيبنى ... قبيل الشباب والنساء مع الولد
.....
وذا سر قول الله واجلب عليهم ... بخيلك فافهم لا بعدت عن الرشد (2)

30

رقم

من شعر نديم يهجو "أبا الهدى" الصيادى :

الشعر على لسان مناد ينادى فى العالم بعد مولد أبى الهدى :

---

(1) القصيدة كاملة انظر المساير ج 1 ص 8 — 9 (2) القصيدة كاملة انظر المساير ج 1 ص 16 — 17

أرى الدين مالت للسقوط دعائمه ... وعرش قوى الاسلام ساخت قوائمه
أرى الدين يبكى عند قبر محمد ... كما بكت البدر المشرّع فاطمه
.....
أرى عمر الفاروق فى حزن على ... تضعضع ملك قومته عزائمه
.....
أرى فاجرا بالدين يلعب دائما ... يشاركه فى الاثم غر يسالمه
أرى مفسدا للملك يحرم قربه ... ويحرم من رضوان ربى راحمه
.....
وأى مصاب بعد مولد خاسر ... يقابل بالكفران من هو طاعمه
كذوب كفور جاهل متعالم ... لئيم وضيع مشتهاه شتائمه
.....
بغيض لأهل البيت عار من الهدى ... تكوّن من خبث تقوت شكائمه (1)
.....

رقم 31

من شعر نديم على لسان "ابليس" يصف حقيقة القرآن :

وحى كنور الصبح فى صحو السما ... ما أنكرته سوى قلوب ذوى العما
يهدى بآيات تحر ذوى الحجى ... للبحث كى بعد الأدله تسلما
برهانه كالسيف يقطع خصمه ... ويرد عن طرق الضلالة مجرما
أعيا معارضه فبات مفكرا ... وغدا عن الدعوى الصريحة محجما
ما كان للأمى أن يأتى به ... من عنده فأخو القراءه أفحما
وفطاحل الحكماء ألفوا كتبهم ... وروا حقائق عن نبىٍّ علما
.....

---

1) القصيده كاملة انظر السامير ج 1 ص ٤٧ ـ ٤٩

قهر الجميع محمد بكتابه ... لمّا أحال على العقول وحكما
ما كادني من نسل آدم غيرهُ ... لولاه ما كان الوجود تقدما

ثم انطوت أيامه وكتابه ... يتلى ويخصم جاحدا متجرما
حفظوه في لوح القلوب تعبدا ... فعجزت عن تغييره لمن انتمى

فاعذر جليسك إن رأيت دموعه ... تجري وقد ذكر الصدّ الاعظما (1)

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